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Mladenov Receives French Planning Secretary

*AU2603125290 Sofia BTA in English
1226 GMT 26 Mar 90*

[Text] Sofia, March 26 (BTA)—Today Petur Mladenov, State Council president of Bulgaria, received Lionel Stoleru, state secretary for planning of France.

They discussed the most topical aspects of Bulgaria's economic and financial state as well as the ways for overcoming of the economic crisis.

Petur Mladenov said that being a country of modern economy and having highly trained economists and experts, France can render significant assistance in the fulfillment of the economic reform in Bulgaria. He drew the attention at three main problems which this country is facing: the great economic debt, the possession of large financial means by the population and the convertibility of the Bulgarian Lev.

Mr Lionel Stoleru stressed that France is the first country in Europe which responds to changes in Bulgaria. He said a special structure has been constructed, attached to President Francois Mitterrand, which coordinates all aspects of France's policy related to changes in Eastern Europe. He outlined the problems which arose in relation with the so called "shock" therapy of economy. The French statesman pointed at the significant role of the relationship between the forthcoming elections and future economic reforms. He expressed the stance that the complex problems can be solved in the next two years.

The interlocutors broached on issues about Europe's future, relations between the United States, Japan and Europe. They spoke of the significant role of President Mitterrand's concept for "European confederation" about the future of all countries in the continent.

France Offers Aid

*AU2603201390 Sofia BTA in English
1922 GMT 26 Mar 90*

[Text] Sofia, March 26 (BTA)—"If Bulgaria wants to seek democracy and a free market economy, France will help it," said Mr Lionel Stoleru, the French secretary of state for planning, speaking to Bulgarian and foreign reporters at a news conference here today.

Mr Stoleru paid a visit here at the invitation of the Government for consultations on the economic reform and the crisis management program. The French official emphasized that the transition from a centrally planned to a market economy is not a specifically Bulgarian but an East European problem, irrespective of the different foreign debts and other characteristics.

He pointed out that Bulgaria will have to cope with sizable difficulties in the transitional period. "The most substantial guarantee of success," the guest said, "will be a national consensus on the objectives of the reform." He discussed unemployment and inflation as the inevitable adverse effects of the process and the need to set off their ramifications for the low income brackets. Prices and tax policy has to be revised, and the Bulgarian lev must become convertible, he emphasized.

"What should be urgently done here now is to create conditions for scores and hundreds of private shops, service outlets, construction companies and other small-sized businesses to start operation in the space of several weeks," Mr Stoleru said.

The secretary of state for planning expressed the hope that Bulgaria will have a national consensus government, something for which both the incumbent Government and the opposition are ready, as he was told in his talks here.

Controls 'Tightened' To Prevent Illegal Export

*AU2603194590 Sofia BTA in English
1835 GMT 26 Mar 90*

["Tightened Customs Controls"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 26 (BTA)—The Customs Service Department today circulated a declaration notifying all travelers that Bulgarian and foreign citizens trying to take large amounts of goods out of this country will be persecuted to the full extent of the law. The penalties range from cancellation of the trip to withdrawal of international passports and severe fines.

The Customs Service announces that the permission under which Vietnamese working in Bulgaria could take out up to 300 m [meters] of secondhand third-rate fabrics was suspended as from October 23, 1989.

The goods which cross-border travelers take abroad for their personal use will attract a deposit customs duty refundable on their re-entry in Bulgaria, provided they bring the taxed goods back. For instance, deposits will amount to 100 per cent of the price for motor cars manufactured up to five years ago and to 50 per cent for the rest.

The Customs Service reminds travelers that Bulgarian banknotes and coins may not be taken out and into the country. The temporary permission to export 500 leva has been canceled.

Mladenov Receives Scientific Federation Group

*AU2603201690 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1900 GMT 26 Mar 90*

[Text] On 26 March, State Council Chairman Petur Mladenov received a delegation of the Federation of Scientific-Technical Associations, led by Federation Chairman Professor Lazar Lazarov.

The participants raised many unresolved problems concerning the scientific-technical intelligentsia, such as lower social status, insufficient financial and material basis, and lack of sufficient international contacts and

information. Specific proposals were made to increase the federation's role in the nation's socioeconomic development.

The State Council chairman stressed the necessity of creating ecologically pure technologies. He drew attention to the importance of resolving issues related to the conversion, the transfer of foreign technologies, and the introduction of energy- and material-saving technologies.

Rights, Freedoms Movement Conference Opens

AU2603194090 Sofia BTA in English 1915 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 26 (BTA)—The Rights and Freedoms Movement opened its first national conference here today.

Mr Ahmed Dogan [formerly Medi Doganov] read a report of the movement's Operative Bureau on its work since the movement was formally established on January 4, 1990. The organization already has over 100,000 members. Mr Dogan stressed that the movement is not an ethnical religious-based organization. "One of our foremost priorities was and still is to overcome the ill-feelings towards the Muslim population stirred up and fomented by the ousted totalitarian regime," he said. The movement categorically rejects extremism and terrorism as methods of struggle.

Mr Dogan made a special point of the organization's attitude towards the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). The movement would join the SDS on the condition that it would issue a declaration on the ethnic issue.

According to the organization's platform, the ethnic crisis can be overcome on the basis of three fundamental principles: legality, democracy and economic progress.

The leadership of the movement disapproves of the Bulgarian Citizens Names Act, stressing that it preserves the status quo and creates conditions for tensions.

Ecoglasnost Seeks Ban on Phosphorous Fertilizers

AU2603193990 Sofia BTA in English 1853 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 26 (BTA)—The Ecoglasnost Independent Association today voiced concern over the contamination of arable land by the use of synthetic phosphorous fertilizers.

In a televised address to the competent departments, Ecoglasnost urged for an immediate ban of phosphoric fertilizers.

The samples analyzed by Ecoglasnost experts showed that lead, zinc, chromium, beryllium, strontium and other heavy metals are present in the soil in concentrations exceeding many times the natural background levels.

Bakov Discusses Party Name Referendum

AU2603142390 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Mar 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Filip Bokov, Supreme Party Council Presidium member, by Angel Bonev; place and date not given: "The Party's New Name Will Express the Change Taking Place Within the Party"]

[Text] A representative of our editorial board interviewed Filip Bokov, Supreme Party Council Presidium member, on the occasion of the all-party referendum on the question of whether the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] should be renamed.

[Bonev] Are the primary party organizations ready for the referendum?

[Bokov] Despite the short time left for preparation, the party organizations are essentially ready for the referendum. Supreme BCP Council Presidium members visited several areas of the country by the end of last week. We explained our point of view. We submitted an appeal to the primary party organizations in which we explained the arguments in favor of changing the party's name. The Supreme BCP Council acted in full accordance with the principles of democracy. We did not exert pressure on anyone; no administrative decisions were adopted. We expressed our point of view, supporting it with arguments that I consider convincing.

[Bonev] What do the preliminary public opinion polls conducted among party members indicate?

[Bokov] The polls show that the majority is in favor of changing the party's name; it is, however, difficult to establish the exact number of this majority. The referendum is already in progress in some municipalities. Several primary party organizations voted in favor of the name: "Bulgarian Socialist Party" with an 80-90 percent majority.

Numerous people, however, criticize the Supreme Party Council for holding the referendum at this particular moment. It is a fact that the new name is expected to reflect the necessary change that is already taking place within the party. We cannot claim that our party is in the process of renewal, as long as nothing has changed.

[Bonev] Were any other options for names discussed?

[Bokov] The discussion began as early as prior to the 14th BCP Congress. Various alternatives were proposed, such as Party of Democratic Socialism, Bulgarian Workers Party, and so forth.... We think that the name Bulgarian Socialist Party is the most appropriate and most effectively reflects the documents adopted at the congress. It is also in full accordance with the nature of our future political organization, which is expected to engage in sharp political struggles.

People often ask me why we propose only one name and do not include all alternative options that were discussed. However, we should understand that a referendum is related to one single question that should be answered with "in favor of" or "against." If we propose three options, each of them would collect only approximately 30 percent of the votes, which means that no final decision could be adopted.

[Bonev] There is a proposal that a new registration of party members should take place along with the referendum?

[Bokov] It is evident that a new registration of party members is required, but we should first examine whether this should take place immediately, or be postponed to a later date.

[Bonev] Are you not afraid that the act of renaming the party could result in a split within the BCP?

[Bokov] This danger, unfortunately, does exist, but let us hope that no split will occur. Every party member realizes the requirement for unity in this preelection period and also the need to rally closely in support of the party's policy of renewal. Votes should not be motivated by emotions, but by common sense.

[Bonev] When will the results of the referendum be published?

[Bokov] Toward the middle of next week, at the latest.

[Bonev] Are any precautions for preventing manipulation being taken?

[Bokov] The local commissions and the Central Referendum Commission, headed by Dobri Dzhurov, are responsible for this. Dzhurov is a man who can be trusted not to allow any manipulations.

The party's new name is expected to be announced simultaneously with the results of the referendum.

More on Zhivkov Investigation Progress

AU2603141690 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Mar 90 p 6

[Unattributed report: "The Chief Prosecutor's Office Specifies and Objects"]

[Excerpt] An announcement of the Chief Prosecutor's Office of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, which was disseminated yesterday through BTA, points out that certain publications of the mass media are likely to mislead the public and are not in the interest of the investigation.

Thus, for example, an article by Aleksandur Aleksandrov published in issue No. 64 of the daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 5 March 1990 names the specific witnesses in connection with the issue of Todor Zhivkov's forged identity card in the period prior to 9 September 1944. The persons indicated as sources of information in the respective article did not confirm this fact during their interrogation on the case.

Issue No. 58 of RABOTNICHESKO DELO on 27 February 1990 publishes "verified" data on Vladimir Todorov Zhivkov's expenditures within the 1985-89 period amounting to 711,000 leva. The fact is that the financial investigation in the former Administration of Security and Protection has not yet been concluded. According to preliminary data, the amount spent by both Vladimir Zhivkov and Evgeniya Zhivkova within the period under review is considerably less than the aforementioned 711,000 leva. The definite amount of illegal expenditures shall be established after the investigation has been concluded. [passage omitted]

Socialist Youth Union Founded

AU2603123690 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 20 Mar 90 p 6

[Mara Georgieva report: "Socialist Youth Union Founded"]

[Text] "We support the establishment of a youth organization with clear ideological positions," reads the declaration of the constituent conference that established the Socialist Youth Union [Sotsialisticheski Mladezhki Suyuz].

The new organization has a sociopolitical character. Its ideological basis is socialism, "perceived not as a separate sociopolitical system, but as a tendency in social development."

The conference elected a Provisional National Council.

Lukanov Discusses Migration to Cities

AU2703120690 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Mar 90 p 1

[Dimitrina Aleksandrova and Evgeni Gavrilov report on news conference by Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov in Sofia on 23 March: "The Premier Refuses to be Politically Dependent Upon Drought and Slush"]

[Excerpts] Sofia, 23 March—At his regular news conference, Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov briefed the journalists on the government's work over the past three weeks. Despite the 22 March decision on the drought situation, Andrey Lukanov categorically refused to be like some of his predecessors whose political future depended too much on the drought and the slush. [passage omitted]

Andrey Lukanov answered the following RABOTNICHESKO DELO questions:

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] The instruction on the temporary restriction of residence permits for large cities was not among the documents revoked by the government. Does this mean that the instruction in question is meant to last for a long time?

[Lukanov] I am convinced that this is not the correct way to settle the problem of mass migration to large cities in a democratic state. I presume that this situation should be improved by civilized methods in the future and that the improvement should be made in close relation with socioeconomic factors. The abolishment of this instruction is inevitable, but it should be replaced by a system of regulators that should be effective without restricting the citizens' individual freedoms.

[RABOTNICHESKO DELO] If you should set up a new cabinet today, would you introduce any changes?

[Lukanov] The cabinet was established within an extremely short time under the conditions existing in our country and this was a very difficult task for me. However, two months later, I would say that I am satisfied in general.

Lukanov Discusses Government Goals, Operation

AU2603080390 Sofia ANTENI in Bulgarian No. 12, 21 Mar 90 pp 1,4

[Report on interview with Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov by Nadezhda Kabakchieva in Sofia; date not given: "I Respect Experience, Knowledge, and the Reforming Spirit"]

[Text] Until now our interviews with Prime Minister Andrey Lukanov have been brief and "stolen." We pursued him along corridors, and recorded him when he entered or left parliament, the roundtable sessions, and other meetings, and when he took part in rallies. This time we decided that the interview would not take place in such improvised conditions, but that we would track him down at his workplace. Accordingly, early in the morning a reporter from ANTENI was waiting for him outside his office at the Council of Ministers, together with the chairmen of the Rhodope Economic Trust and the Foreign Trade Bank and experts.

[Kabakzhieva] In one of your first statements you said that the main goal of the government you formed is to stabilize the power of democracy and pluralism in the country.

[Lukanov] I believe that the whole of the government's conduct conforms to this declaration, as does the government's attitude toward the public forces in the country, including those of the opposition. In practice, every day we are continuing to strive to cooperate with all these forces, hold a dialogue with them, and to assist them as far as the government's competence permits one to resolve certain material issues connected with their work. This, of course, does not only concern what I would call mundane everyday problems, but also more serious matters, such as the content and directions of the government's economic program.

We have held a series of consultations with almost all the political forces, including the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF]. To enable them to prepare for these consultations, we provided them with premises in the Council of Ministers so that they could see the documentation on which the experts are working. We held very constructive talks with the UDF leadership and experts, in the course of which we discovered many points of contact regarding important issues.

It is becoming clear that we view the tasks in the economic field in the same, or almost the same way. I consider that the adherence of a government to the principles of society's functioning and to pluralism is proven more by actions than by declarations. We are striving to achieve this.

[Kabakzhieva] In view of the extreme tasks facing the government, has the apparatus of the Council of Ministers also been restructured in order to correspond to the requirements? Have certain financial savings been made in the spirit of Council of Ministers Decree No. 57? People say that before 10 November the Council of Ministers provided a comfortable nest for people who had failed in political or party terms. Is this wrong perhaps?

[Lukanov] We have reduced staff establishments by about 20 percent not only in the Council of Ministers, but also in the main ministries. Of course, this is not the end. We have reduced the size of the ministries to what I regard as a completely reasonable level. A great ministry, in the sense of the importance of its functions, such as the Ministry of the Economy and the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations, has a staff of about 400. By any yardstick, and according to the criteria of the most decentralized states, this is not a large figure. Another question is, what is the quality of the people, and how do they fulfill their functions in the relevant subdivisions and structures? As far as the Council of Ministers is concerned, its apparatus is shamefully small; we have only a hundred or so officials.

I would not say that we provide any kind of refuge, but I personally have no objection against making use of the knowledge and experience of people outside official departments and ministries, if they really possess such knowledge, because it is one of the functions of the Council of Ministers to provide a general picture, to control, and act as something like an arbiter or assessor in disputes and actions by ministries. An experienced man, even if no longer suitable for current executive work, still remains a man with experience. He holds information in his mind that others do not possess. In this sense, I am against providing a shelter for superfluous people, but I respect experience, knowledge, and that which a state servant accumulates as a result of many years service. We have need of a little conservatism, of viewpoints that need not necessarily enthusiastically support everything new.

[Kabakzhieva] You are associated with the anticrisis program, which will form part of the economic reform. For many decades people have heard more than enough of various terms, new and old economic mechanisms,

and concepts. In the present situation, how will this term become more popular and accessible to ordinary people, so that they believe it?

[Lukanov] I don't know whether the term should be regarded as incomprehensible. It is born from a clear realization of the truth, the unpleasant truth that we are in a crisis. We are not talking only of a crisis in the political situation created in the country, but of a real economic crisis, connected with the disturbance of the main balances in the economy, the fall in the rates of growth, the breakup of relations between industrial branches, and the decline in discipline and interest in working well. Accordingly, the concept of the anticrisis program seems to me to be very simple and direct. It is a logically interconnected package of measures to neutralize and overcome precisely those phenomena that characterize the crisis.

[Kabakzhieva] According to the recent sociological study conducted by the National Public Opinion Investigation Center, you received the approval of 71 percent of those questioned. Only Dobri Dzhurov was in front of you, with 79 percent. Do such assessments encourage you and increase your self-esteem? I will go further. You are steadily increasing your popularity in Europe, judging from the materials published about you in the West European newspapers. Is such popularity a hindrance or a help?

[Lukanov] It is undoubtedly no hindrance. I am even a little surprised by the recent results of the poll because I expected that the government's statements on the anticrisis measures would in one way or another negatively affect the attitude toward the prime minister. What I said was that we face difficulties, and that I have no cheerful news to announce. Naturally, it is no hindrance because it provides a strong moral support in difficult circumstances. The awareness that the public is fully capable of understanding the situation and of supporting the government leader gives me confidence to continue along the path along which I am now trying to advance. I have been in public and political life for a long time now, and the problem of popularity is of no particular importance for me. However, insofar as this popularity denotes support for the policy that is being conducted, yes, it is indeed important to me, but not in a personal sense, because in my opinion I have already reached the age and the "point" when a man is not stirred by his ambitions.

[Kabakzhieva] Your prime minister colleagues in the fraternal countries were required to give up their communist party membership in the name of national interests. Is it not likely that some similar situation will also arise in Bulgaria?

[Lukanov] We will of course, be faced with the question of complete separation of state from party activity, although in democratic countries this does not presuppose the renunciation of one's party. In every West European state, political figures, especially when elected in free elections, retain their party membership even when they hold different state posts. It is perhaps more correct for them not to hold posts in the party leaderships. I should say that we are all guided by a similar understanding of the issue. The fact that Comrade Mladenov, Comrade Dzhurov, and I still combine party and political posts, should rather be regarded as a temporary solution, arising from the specific circumstances in which we have been situated since 10 November, and not as an attempt to duplicate posts. In the future, a transition may well be necessary toward separation of these two fields, both in our own case and, naturally, in the case of the other parties. As regards my own party, I would rather prefer to remain an ordinary member than a prime minister, if this is the choice.

[Kabakzhieva] Please say something to us in connection with the thousandth issue of ANTENI.

[Lukanov] I wish that the ANTENI newspaper will remain as sensitive to public trends, opinions, and attitudes. It is one of the newspapers that in the worst periods of our journalism managed to retain its own face, have its own opinion, and fight for its standpoint. Now, this is even more valid. I wish that you would remain as you are now.

UDF Leader Discusses Domestic, Ethnic Issues

AU2603085590 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 19 Mar 90 p 2

[Report on interview with Petur Beron, "secretary of the Union of Democratic Forces and chairman of 'Ecoglasnost' Control Council," by TRUD reporters Svetla Lefterova and Atanas Tsonkov in Beron's Sofia apartment; date not given: "I Am Never a Pessimist"]

[Text] Public opinion polls at the beginning of the year placed Petur Beron in sixth place among the main political figures in Bulgaria. The enthusiasm with which he is greeted both at the university lecture halls and at mass rallies in which hundreds of thousands of people take part speaks even more clearly of his great popularity. Despite the efforts made for decades by the totalitarian power to crush, oppress, and kill the restoration spirit of the Bulgarian citizens, this spirit nevertheless survived in certain persons.... Not only a blood relationship with the greatest scientist of Bulgaria's restoration, Dr. Petur Khadzhiberovich Beron [1800-1871], who wrote the noted "Fish Primer" [the first Bulgarian primer, called "Fish Primer" because of the fish depicted on the front page], affiliates Petur Beron with this great period of our history. Obviously, the enemies of democracy correctly assessed this fact and directed some of their most vicious slanders and attacks against him. They include criminal threats, (including murder threats against him and members of his family!), anonymous leaflets that disseminate the story that Beron is a millionaire and that he lives in a luxurious apartment. Consequently, we entered his apartment with great curiosity. It turned out that his apartment does not have 260 square meters, as "reliable" sources claimed, but only ...

56. The only wealth in his apartment are the thousands of books, piled up everywhere from the floor to the ceiling, even in the corridors.

[TRUD] Perhaps you nevertheless do have a million or two stashed somewhere, since your "well-wishers" claim this?

[Beron] Well, at least I myself am not aware of this fact. Unfortunately, the truth is very different....

[TRUD] You are a world-famous scientist, and some people think that you should be grateful to the leading party.

[Beron] I do not feel myself obliged or grateful to any party whatever for the fact that I have higher education, or for anything else that I have achieved. For many years we were told that we should be grateful to the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] for the fact that the streets are paved, that there are goods in the stores, that we can watch television, and generally, for the fact that we can breath air—for everything we had to thank the party! Why?! At the same time other European countries achieved much greater successes without a communist government.

[TRUD] Already at the first roundtable session you made several very interesting proposals. One of them—on making 3 March our national holiday is already a reality. What happened to the rest?

[Beron] In my statement I demanded that some of the state symbols be changed, not only the national holiday, but also the coat of arms, the anthem, the country's name, and so forth. I do not know why the newspapers did not find space for my proposals—perhaps this was accidental.... In addition I proposed that the barbed wire fences along the borders be immediately removed. For me it is a shame that we continue to live behind a fence that is thousands of kilometers long, when people in Europe are destroying their borders and distributing parts of it with a certificate that they are authentic pieces of an unrecallable past.... I also spoke about the permits to travel to certain parts of our country and other restrictions on free movement within the country, which deeply offend our national dignity. However, certain people, on whom it depends to remove those anachronisms, pretend that they have not heard my proposals....

[TRUD] In recent months, we broke all records with the strikes in our country. What do you think about this fact?

[Beron] One can now observe a situation in our country that resembles the famous cartoon of the man who holds a poster on which there are only two words: "I Want!" Now everyone is demanding that their situation be immediately improved. However, there is an old Arab proverb according to which nothing can come out of an empty vessel. Subsequently, our empty vessel cannot immediately and simultaneously improve the situation of all social groups. Yesterday, at a long line in front of a shop, somebody asked me: "You have been holding those roundtable discussions for such a long time. Why then are the stores empty?...." Some people even threaten that if the stores continue to be empty they will not vote for us. If they think that they will inflict a crushing blow on us....

[TRUD] You are the only representative of the opposition in the so-called parliamentary commission investigating the deformations. What is your role in its work?

[Beron] It is true that I hang around this commission. I say "hang around," because only members of the parliament can be members of the commission. We, a few persons, participate as experts who can only listen to the reports and ask a few questions. The commission first reviewed the issue of the authors' royalties of Todor Khristov Zhivkov, who as we all know, was a very prolific writer, and not such a voracious reader. Thus he succeeded in knocking together 39 volumes (just barely missing completing the 40th) and received for this 1,800,000 leva in royalties. This amount does not include the royalties he has received for publishing precisely the same works in newspapers, special publications, separate books, and so on. The amount also does not include the royalties he has received from publishing those "works" in about 40 languages in various countries.

Naturally, Bulgaria paid for these publications in foreign currency, part of which was returned to the author in the form of royalties. Other, similar tricks were applied. However, when all this was finally reported, Comrade Stoimenov, the present chief prosecutor, and former Chief Prosecutor Mruchkov, who is now Council of Ministers deputy chairman asked: "What should we do now?" They claimed that no law existed on the basis of which they could take legal action against Zhivkov on account of his deeds. I told them that they were not dealing with some kind of half-educated shopkeeper, but with a former head of state who had ruined the country and abused his power, who had unscrupulously flaunted the country's Constitution. I could cite more than a couple of articles and paragraphs on the basis of which he could be brought to trial....

[TRUD] Do you think that all culprits who are responsible for Bulgaria's present situation will suffer the punishment they deserve?

[Beron] After they provided ample opportunities of free access to their offices for Milko Balev and all the other comrades, who took advantage of this and could easily dig into the safes and search their own files, destroy documents, and transfer their accounts to their sisters-in-law and brothers-in-law, as they did over several months and are still doing at this very moment— what can you expect? I think that there will be retribution, but only for a few people....while most them....When I called Comrade Lukanov's attention at this fact, he told me: "What, in your opinion, are we supposed to do?" I answered: "If you had asked me on 11 November 1989 I would have told you to surround that notorious and

important building with soldiers and to order all employees to leave, to seal all rooms, and only after having done all this, to begin with the investigation, but not now, after so many things have been taken away-....Lukanov told me on that occasion: "Really! One would almost think that Todor Zhivkov might have been your teacher!"

[TRUD] Have you become a pessimist after being daily confronted with and obliged to struggle against the vicious results of an insane and criminal totalitarian system?

[Beron] No, I am by no means a pessimist! I think that the Bulgarian people's noble virtues and humanitarian spirit are still alive. Look at our rallies, at which people give their money to total strangers, only because they are wearing the badges of the Union of Democratic Forces [UDF], and say: "This is for freedom, just for freedom!" The same happened when our representatives were collecting money for the Romanian people. They sat on the benches in the Sofia public park with plastic bags in their hands and people passing by put their money in them, without even asking for receipts. Kiril Marichkov, for example, donated 400 leva on that occasion. You might say: He had the money, so he gave. Some people, however, have more money and do not give anything.

[TRUD] Increasing tension has recently developed in connection with the so-called Macedonian issue. What is your opinion on this question?

[Beron] I will express my personal view. I think that Macedonians, just like Thracians, like the population of Dobrudzha, and Mysia, are part of the Bulgarian people. This has always been my innermost conviction, and I never had even the least doubt on this question. We are all aware of the outrageous mistakes committed in connection with the Macedonian people in the 1946-47 period. They were forced to change their passports and declare themselves Macedonians—this case is almost unprecedented in world history! We know that the Bulgarian language basically differs from all other Slavonic language by being the only parsing language among them. All other Slavonic languages are inflectional languages, which means that they have to cope with declension. The newly introduced "Macedonian" literary language parses just like the Bulgarian language. When I was in Macedonia people asked me: "Where did you learn Macedonian?" "I am speaking Bulgarian," I said. Actually they speak a more correct and pure Bulgarian language, while we use numerous modernisms today, such as the words "croissants," "hot dogs," and so forth.

I traveled through northern Greece and eastern Thracia for many years. Once these areas had a sizable Bulgarian population. We should become familiar with these territories. We may perhaps not have any territorial claims over them likely to provoke disputes with our neighbors. Neverthless, we should keep alive the Bulgarian spirit of the people in those areas; we should not let it be extinguished. Armenians still believe in the resurrection of Great Armenia, although no Armenian state has existed on that territory for the last 2,000 years, while for us, Bulgarians, it is sufficient to cross a state border in order to forget the existence of Bulgarian towns and erase them from the Bulgarian national heritage. I am not a nationalist, but I cannot accept such things.

Spokesman on Havel's Condition, Semtex Controversy

LD2603174190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] Michael Zantovsky, spokesman for the president of the Republic, met Czechoslovak and foreign journalists in Prague Castle this afternoon. Jindrich Malota has more details:

[Malota] The press spokesman of the president of the Republic began by explaining why Vaclav Havel, in contrast to past weeks, did not attend the regular news conference today.

[Begin Zantovsky recording] CSSR President Vaclav Havel underwent a scheduled hernia operation in a Prague hospital on 24 March. The operation was carried out without complications, and the patient is recovering gradually and normally. The president is expected to be released from the hospital and sent home for treatment within approximately one week. He will be ordered to rest for approximately another week. The Office of the President of the Republic will provide further information about the course of the convalescence within the next week, probably next Monday [2 April]. [end recording]

[Malota] After this opening information, Michal Zantovsky answered questions put to him by journalists. The questions concerned both international issues, in particular the results of the trip made by the Czechoslovak president to France and Britain, and Czechoslovakia's domestic political developments.

In connection with the negative reaction by Libyan representatives to Vaclav Havel's statement at a news conference in London concerning the quantity of Czechoslovak-made Semtex explosives supplied to this North African country by 1981, Michael Zantovsky said the Libyan side had described Vaclav Havel's figure of 1,000 tonnes of supplies as untruthful. A certain inaccuracy occurred during the translation. The exact quantity of the explosive supplied amounted in fact to 940 tonnes. He added that Czechoslovakia continues to manufacture this explosive only for industrial needs, with the country consuming approximately 20 tonnes annually.

After this interesting comparison, the press spokesman of the Czechoslovak president then spoke about the content of the talks held in France and Britain. In this connection he described as interesting the exchange of experiences with France in the field of the decentralization of state administration, which France has been applying successfully for the past ten years.

Asked by a foreign journalist to explain the essence of the so-called action Klin [wedge]—that is, the plan of the former state security service to sow discord within the ranks of civic initiatives—Michael Zantovsky replied that these were practices that had been applied against the then opposition movement several years ago. He described the Federal Ministry's explanation as insufficient and voiced the conviction that after Minister Sacher's return from his visit to the United States a more detailed and precise report will be put together.

Assembly's Discussion of Economic Laws Postponed

AU2603131590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Mar 90 p 2

[Miloslav Hradil, Marie Konigova, CTK report: "Deputies on Money"]

[Excerpt] Prague (From our correspondents and CTK)—The long list of laws that must be discussed in Federal Assembly Committees before the 26th joint meeting of the Chambers (which will meet on 27 to 29 March) has become significantly shorter. The Federal Assembly Presidium, following an agreement with the CSSR Government, postponed the discussion on the drafts of economic laws to April. There are two reasons. The first—the less important one—is lack of time, the second one is crucial. The deputies have not yet received the draft amendment of the Economic Code, and it is imperative for the economic laws and the Economic Code to be implemented simultaneously. [passage omitted]

Entrepreneurs Protest Private Business Law Delay

LD2603153290 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] The Federal Assembly has postponed discussion on the law on individual entrepreneurship, which was to have taken place at the end of April.

In an open letter to Federal Assembly deputies, members of the Coordination Committee of the Czechoslovak Entrepreneurs Association underscore that thousands of citizens have already terminated their employment in order to start up private businessses. Postponement of the law until May creates daily and legal insecurity for them.

The representatives of entrepreneurs have also raised serious objections to the text of the bill and to the entire legislation connected with the real opportunities for private enterprise. The current situation, which could have a negative impact on private entrepreneurship in Czechoslovakia, is caused, according to the Association of Entrepreneurs in Slovakia, by officials at ministries who have been used to undervaluing private entrepreneuring, and therefore, so far, the proclaimed statements of the Federal Government about support for private enterprise remain only words.

Federal Government Discusses New Economic Laws

LD2603165390 Prague CTK in English 1340 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Prague March 26 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Government discussed at a special meeting today the frequently discussed bill on state enterprises and amendments to laws on income, purchase and agricultural taxes.

The bill on state enterprises caters for two types of enterprises. The first type is to be an enterprise of a *managerial type shaped in a way as to facilitate its* transformation into a joint-stock company. It is to be controlled by a director appointed by the founder. The enterprise would not be accountable for the state's commitments and the state would not be responsible for the commitments of the enterprise. The founder is obliged to discuss the foundation and abolition of the enterprise with the national committee, while trade unions have a right to state their opinion on such steps.

The second type is a state enterprise meeting interests beneficial to the public, which may count with possible aid from the state budget.

The bill on state enterprises drops the existing forms of autonomous enterprises. It reckons with the transitional period, in which the founder can divide the existing huge enterprises and gradually change them into other forms of entrepreneurial activities expiring by the end of this year. The bill on state enterprises, will thus create scope for destroying the state ownership monopoly in production.

The government also discussed principles of a law on employment, of a social security scheme and a concept of shaping the labour market in this country. The agenda also includes amendments to laws on enterprises with foreign capital participation, on economic contacts with foreign countries and a foreign exchange law.

Death Penalty Abolished; Amendments to Penal Law

AU2703104390 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Mar 90 p 2

["(RU)"-signed report: "Change to an Exceptional Penalty"]

[Text] Prague (From our editor) —The first, and probably most interesting, details to be revealed at yesterday's news conference, held after a CSSR Government session, were related to the abolition of the death penalty, a proposal for which the majority of government members voted. According to CSSR Prosecutor General Tibor Bohm, draft amendments to the penal law, the penal code, and the law on the execution of punishment should be debated in the Federal Assembly prior to the elections.

The CSSP prosecutor general gave more details about the proposed changes, changes which reflect a de-ideologized penal law and penal code and which reflect the removal of stipulations preventing the complete implementation of human rights, the abolition—or substantial limitation—of the death penalty, and equal protection for all types of property. These amendments, however, do not deal with the fundamental conceptual issues surrounding the material penal law [trestne pravo hmotne] and penal code; nor do they deal with the reform of the prison system. This can only take place after a new constitution is adopted.

A key question surrounding the change to the penal code is the amendment to an exceptional penalty—the death penalty. "I am opposed to the death penalty," said T. Bohm, giving the following reasons: "By executing this penalty, its enlightening function completely disappears; it is merely revenge. What is most important, however, is that the consequences of the death penalty cannot be rectified. This argument is strengthened by the infamous experiences acquired in fifties." He also pointed out that in those countries where this exceptional penalty has been abolished, no increase in the crime rate has been recorded; in some places, the crime rate has even decreased (moreover, the overwhelming majority of West European countries do not use this penalty—for example, the last execution in Belgium was carried out in 1864 and in Liechtenstein in 1785). Therefore, it can be said that—as a rule—the more advanced and democratic the country, the less frequently the death penalty is carried out.

The death penalty has been enshrined in our legal code since the beginning of the Czechoslovak Republic; it has also been carried out. For instance, during the past 22 years, 53 death penalties were given; of this number, 46 were carried out. In all cases, murders, or other criminal acts resulting in death, were involved. The government discussed six other forms of punishments. Some of them excluded the death penalty, others permitted it as an alternative. According to T. Bohm, the government finally took the standpoint of not recommending the death penalty to the Federal Assembly. Alternatively, it proposes life imprisonment with the possibility that it could be replaced by a prison term of 15-25 years.

The amendment to the penal law should also bring a change to the length of investigative custody, which should last a maximum of one year. The time needed for a decision to take someone into custody (currently 48 hours) is to be cut by half. A completely new institution is being considered—bail. Its range should extend from 10,000 to 1,000,000 korunas. The possibility of bail as a replacement for custody will be decided by the court, depending on what kind of criminal activity is involved.

Poverty Line Fixed at Kcs1,200 Per Month

AU2603140590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Mar 90 p 2

[CTK report: "From the CSSR Federal Assembly Committees"]

[Excerpt] Prague—[passage omitted] The plan and budget for the Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs was the first item on the agenda of the 25th joint meeting of the Social Affairs Committees of the People's Chamber and Chamber of Nations in Prague yesterday. The deputies recommended to the Federal Assembly that it pass the chapter on the 1990 Federal Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs budget. In an introductory speech, Petr Miller, federal minister of labor and social

affairs, assured deputies that full and efficient employment is one of the principal social guarantees declared by the government of national understanding. He said that the subsistence level will be fixed at Kcs1,200 per person and that no one must live under this level. [passage omitted]

Policemen Protest Trade Union Activity Ban

LD2603143790 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Excerpts] On Tuesday, 21 March, the constitutional-legal committees of the Federal Assembly discussed the bill on the law on the freedom of assembly. These committees recommended to the Federal Assembly that it ban trade union activity for members of the National Security Corps. [passage omitted]

Editor Karl Tomka interviews two representatives of this trade union, Captain Igor Marcel and Captain Jan Biznar.

[Begin recording] [Marcel] From the very beginning we have been calling for the formation of the Czechoslovak police as a democratic, organized, professionally capable and morally pure body subordinated only to the constitutional bodies and we have rejected the domination of one political party. The ban on the activity of trade unions in police forces was always connected with the stabilization of a totalitarian regime, for the first time in 1953 and later in 1971. We ask: Who is interested now and why in not having the police force organized in trade unions, which consequently makes it open to manipulation?

[Tomka] I see you have in front of you an open letter to the deputies of the Chamber of Peoples and the Chamber of Nations of the Czechoslovak Republic Federal Assembly.

[Biznar] We are writing to the deputies of the Federal Assembly:

Dear deputies. If your decision will make the trade union activity in the police corps impossible, who will secure and in what way the civic rights of members of the police force and prevent the abuse of absolute power of superiors over policemen as we knew it in the past? This issue cannot be explained in one short letter. The representatives of our union would like to provide deputies with more detailed information and answer any questions about the National Security Corps trade union activities.

[Marcel] May I add that our trade union organization has made it clear that it is giving up the right to strike. [end recording]

Screening for all Czech Republic Police Officers

AU2603131190 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 20 Mar 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Czech Republic Interior Minister Antonin Hrazdira by unidentified CTK reporter; place and date not given: "Reliability Verified by Interviews"]

[Excerpt] Prague—The men in the green uniforms with red epaulets are still at the center of our citizens' attention. Some of the SNB's [National Security Corps] officers, all of whom should be guarantors of civil rights under all circumstances, have let us down in the past. Therefore, the Czech Republic Ministry of the Interior has taken the step of conducting interviews.... A CTK reporter spoke about this issue with Czech Republic Interior Minister Antonin Hrazdira.

[CTK] Whom will the interviews concern?

[Hrazdira] The commission will interview the commanders (and their deputies) of the ministry's security section units and Public Security [VB] units, the commander of the former VB stand-by regiment, his deputies, and other officers from this regiment. The interviews will also concern all those who were employed in the abolished political training apparatus and in the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Socialist Youth Union apparatus, both at the ministry and at all regional SNB administrations.

[CTK] Who will be the members of the interview commission?

[Hrazdira] Czech National Council deputies will be in charge at the ministry, and national committee deputies will be in charge in the regions and districts. Former officers discharged from service because of their political views after 1968 and representatives of the appropriate civic commissions will also be members.

[CTK] What is the commission's task?

[Hrazdira] It is to ascertain whether an SNB officer violated the generally binding legal norms and departmental regulations and whether he abused his post to unjustifiably acquire property or other benefits. It will also consider an officer's moral conduct and professional competence to work in this service. If the commission ascertains that an officer is not qualified to work in the position he occupies, it will decide, after an in-depth analysis, to assign him somewhere else or possibly to discharge him. The interviews should be completed by 30 April. [passage omitted on recruitment of new officers]

19 New Parties Registered in Czech Republic

AU2603103790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Mar 90 p 3

[CTK report: "Nineteen Political Parties"]

[Text] Prague—By 19 March, 19 newly established political parties and 10 political movements operating in the Czech Republic had already been registered in the civil administration department of the Czech Republic Ministry of the Interior. Parties in existence on the basis of the law on political parties are: the Czechoslovak People's Party; the Czechoslovak Socialist Party; the Democratic Party in Slovakia; the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia; and the Freedom Party. The Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence movement have already been legalized.

Ministry Challenges Mohorita's Surveillance Claim

LD2603142290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] The Federal Ministry of the Interior press secretary has given the following statement to CTK:

It states that Vasil Mohorita, first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Central Committee, declared at last Saturday's [24 March] meeting of the CPCZ Central Committee that the State Security Service [STB] is interested in CPCZ members. It is surely known to Mr. Mohorita that the STB has been abolished, that weapons and service identity cards have been confiscated from [former STB] officials, that they do not go to their work places, and that their activity is under investigation. It is equally well known that the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy has been set up and has nothing in common with the former STB.

If, therefore, Mr. Mohorita has any proof that officials of that office are interested in CPCZ activity, let him submit such evidence to the Federal Ministry of the Interior.

That organization of the ministry proceeds from the principle of detachment from politics and through parliamentary control over security services, and it cannot be linked with any political parties. This also provides guarantees that the security apparatus will not be misused as was the case under the one-party rule.

CPCZ Claims Circular on Aims 'Forgery'

AU2603091790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Mar 90 pp 1,3

[Vlastimil Bradac and Dalibor Macha report: "Beware of 'Circular No. 2'"]

[Excerpt] Readers from throughout the republic have been drawing our attention to the fact that they are still receiving various publications containing the so-called Circular No. 2 which is, allegedly, published by the "Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Propaganda Section" and which contains confidential instructions for CPCZ members. It contains, for example, the following "information and instructions": ..."We have cogent arguments for you, which you must believe, that this period is only a transitional one and that one day we will again be in power....Join the Civic Forum and you will receive instructions from the CPCZ....Exaggerate whatever mistakes "democracy" makes....Orient our propaganda so that national martyrs are made out of us...."

This is clearly a forgery; we have already written about it in RUDE PRAVO. What can we add? The real authors certainly know exactly what kind of attitude such a text will arouse in people. They would like to see the Communist Party being discredited now, before the elections, by a stupid policy such as the one described in "Circular No. 2." We hope that sensible people will realize this themselves when they read it more closely....

The CPCZ Press Center issued the following point of view on this circular on 9 February: "Neither in the current CPCZ Central Committee structure, nor in its specialist apparatus, is there, or has there ever been, an information and propaganda section. The obviously provocative contents of the leaflets indicate that its authors are attempting to engender a lack of trust among party members and other working people in the current CPCZ leadership and in the sincerity of the CPCZ's policy of renewal. They are attempting to create the impression that the CPCZ is still attempting to bring about a return to pre-17 November 1989 conditions and that there are still "putschist" moods and efforts in party ranks.

At the same time, it is not out of the question that this is an attempt to create an atmosphere in which anyone who dares to point out shortcomings or who dares to express a different opinion will be accused of assisting "the dark forces" that want to subvert our society.

Communists are not afraid of criticism, polemics, or differing views, but they decidedly reject a situation when democratic dialogue is replaced by forgeries, pamphlets, and attempts to manipulate public opinion—whatever side these come from". So much for the CPCZ point of view. [passage omitted]

Current Situation of Slovakia CP, Membership

AU2203140690 Bratislava VEREJNOST in Slovak 6 Mar 90 pp 1, 5, 6

[Interview with Pavol Kanis, Federal Assembly deputy and secretary of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia, by Eugen Gindl and Michal Horsky; place and date not given: "Wherefrom and Whereto Are Communists Striding"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [VEREJNOST] What is you opinion on the current political climate and, in particular, on the current activities of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in society?

[Kanis] [passage omitted] I believe that the decline of political culture, which began a long time ago, has not stopped. I assumed that a restructuring must be realized in this country. That is my basic assumption. Since a revolutionary change has taken place in the nature of state power, a radical change in state administration will follow. One should be careful, however, and beware of extremes. [passage omitted]

I think that certain suspicions were formed regarding Communists and certain elements of the party structure. [passage omitted]

[VEREJNOST] We are concerned that the first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Mr. Vasil Mohorita, speaks quite openly, as, for instance, at the Bratislava caucus in the Park of Culture and Repose, on semi-legal party structures and secret party membership.

[Kanis] It is a new situation for us. Even the terminology for our present activity is lacking. Therefore, terms are used which historically originated under conditions of the persecution of Communists. [passage omitted]

[VEREJNOST] Given this extraordinary situation, it would be of interest to know the current size of your membership. Could you compare it to the situation prior to the revolution?

[Kanis] The Communist Party of Slovakia had 451,445 members before 17 November. As of 21 February, 310,450 members were registered. That means that approximately 140,000 returned their membership cards.

[VEREJNOST] According to our information, over 100,000 of the remaining membership, for the time being, are keeping their cards as a "souvenir." What about gains?

[Kanis] During the given period, 775 new members joined. Moreover, numerous cases exist of those who returned their cards only to pick them up again. And 115 comrades renewed their membership.

[VEREJNOST] These are apparently the members expelled during the consolidation period. How many members were undeservedly expelled from the party ranks in Slovakia at the time?

[Kanis] 53,000.

[VEREJNOST] A discussion of a possible change in the party's name began recently. In the proposals of alternatives to the name "Communist," the word is replaced by the denotation "Workers." Do you believe that by this cosmetic change you will fool the hundreds of thousands of workers who were demonstrating in city squares and took part in the general strike?

[Kanis] I think that a change in name cannot help the party today. The party that acted in the name of the workers class estranged it. It is one of the greatest tragedies of our party. [passage omitted]

GDR Elections Support 'Christian Union' Drive

AU2603085890 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 21 Mar 90 p 1

["ap, jn"-signed report: "For a Christian Union"]

[Text] Representatives of the Christian Democratic Movement of Slovakia [KHD] led by I. Carnogursky, executive secretary of the KHD Council, received a delegation of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL] led by Brother J. Bartoncik, CSL chairman, in Bratislava yesterday. The participants in the meeting dealt with questions concerning political cooperation, preparations for the June elections, and the attitude toward nondemocratic forces. They noted that politically committed Christians played an important role in the struggle for the restoration of democracy in Czechoslovakia and must also play the same role in the process of consolidating the democratic system. Realizing the urgent need for the unity of Christian political forces, they jointly expressed support for the "Christian Union Initiative" [Iniciativa za krestanskou unii] and the determination to proceed in the elections in such a way as not to give the forces of totalitarianism any chance. Participants in the meeting expressed the conviction that everything conceivable must be done to obtain full political support from citizens.

In only two days, over 400 signatures were collected among the citizens of Prague-3 in a spontaneous campaign in support of the "Christian Union Initiative." This appeal for a joint course of action by all Christians in the upcoming elections is gathering momentum, especially after the announcement of the results of parliamentary elections in the GDR, which ended in an unequivocal victory for the united Christian forces.

Christian Democrats Rule Out Christian Coalition

AU2603090090 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 21 Mar p 1

["re"-signed report: "A Contribution to Unity?"]

[Text] Yesterday we received a report from CTK about Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek receiving a delegation of the Christian Democratic Party led by Dr. V. Benda, chairman of its executive committee. The delegation explained the party's independent political stand, including its attitude toward the elections: The Christian Democratic Party rules out the possibility of a coalition with the Czechoslovak People's Party.

Is this stand, perhaps, a contribution to the mission of the Christian Union, an idea to which Benda's Christian Democracy recently subscribed?

Peace Group Denies Reported Coalition Membership

AU2603131790 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 21 Mar 90 p 3

["re"-signed report: "A Peculiar Coalition"]

[Text] We were astonished to read in the 19 March issue of LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE a CTK report on the formation of a new political coalition, called the "Free Bloc." According to J. Kotas, the Independent Peace Association is supposed to be part of this coalition. In view of the fact that the Independent Peace Association has no intention of running in the 1990 elections, it cannot be part of any preelection coalition.

[Signed] J. Chudomel, P. Jegl for the Independent Peace Association.

Newly Elected Leadership of Socialist Party

AU2603075190 Prague PRACE in Czech 19 Mar 90 p 2

[CTK report: "Conclusion of 24th Congress of Czechoslovak Socialist Party"]

[Text] Prague—In the introductory part of the third and final day of the 24th Congress of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party [CSS] in the Palace of Culture in Prague yesterday [18 March], the participants got acquainted with the results of the constituent sessions of the central body of the party. Chairman of the electoral commission Jaroslav Safarik announced that a 19-member presidium of the CSS Central Committee was elected. Josef Lesak became first deputy CSS chairman and Milada Cechova, Vladimir Kovalcik, Jaroslav Safarik, and Jan Skoda became deputy chairmen. [Jiri Vyvadil, the party chairman, was elected on 16 March, the first day of the congress.] Stanislav Krecek and Jan Priborsky became CSS Central Committee secretaries. Jiri Broz was elected chairman of Central Audit Commission and Jan Sykora was elected chairman of CSS Central Court [ustredni soud].

In the next part of the session the delegates approved and complemented the CSS draft statutes. They designated the statutes as interim ones, however, and their final wording will be the subject of a nationwide conference, which will be called before the end of this year. They also voiced their approval of the party's draft program for the free elections, in which a number of suggestions was also incorporated. As far as changing the name of the party is concerned, Chairman of Drafting Commission Stanislav Krecek said that an all-party referendum, which should decide on the change, will take place after the June elections.

3d Millennium Party Holds Constituent Congress

AU2603081690 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Mar 90 p 2

[CTK report: "A Constituent Assembly"]

[Text] Banska Stiavnica—A thorough and comprehensive solution to ecological problems from an interdepartmental perspective is the aim of the Trend of the Third Millennium Party, whose constituent congress took place in Banska Stiavnica on Saturday [17 March]. The new party was founded on the initiative of employees from the Slovak Academy of Sciences Institute of Landscape Ecology in Banska Stiavnica and Bratislava. It is oriented, in particular, toward the regeneration of the most devastated regions, toward the optimum use of the countryside from an ecological point of view and toward educational activities aimed at eradicating ecological illiteracy. The congress approved the party's articles and elected its organs, a seven-member presidium whose chairman is Peter Mudry.

Slovak Peace Movement Established

AU2603080490 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Mar 90 p 3

["(AO)"-signed report: "Goodbye, Schizophrenia"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—"The Slovak Union for Peace and Human Rights [Slovenska Unie Pre Mier A Ludske Prava, SUMLP] is a voluntary, democratic movement and forms the basis for the peaceful activity of members of political parties, social and special interest organizations and unions, initiatives, associations, churches, and for individuals. They are united in their support for peaceful ideals, for international cooperation, for humanity, for civil liberties and rights, and for a healthy environment," states the SUMLP statute. The SUMLP was founded on Saturday [17 March] at a constituent assembly as the successor to the Slovak Peace Council. [passage omitted]

The participants in the assembly condemned the behind-the-scenes maneuvering by bureaucrats in the former Czechoslovak Peace Committee who are attempting, by using reprehensible methods, to annihilate the recently established Czechoslovak Peace Union. Anton Tazky, chairman of the Slovak Republic National Front Central Committee, expressed the National Front's willingness to organize a roundtable on this issue. He emphasized that the current revolution will only completely triumph if it is developed along democratic, humane, and moral principles.

The assembly apologized to all the peace activists who in the past were persecuted for their convictions. It also expressed its support for the abolition of capital punishment in the CSSR. It condemned the invitation to the fascist General A. Pinochet to visit our country, no matter how it was intended. Those present adopted a statement against the exacerbation of tense relations between Romanies and the rest of the population. They appealed to our citizens to participate in Easter peace marches, which are a tradition in many countries. The SUMLP will organize the marches on 14 April under the theme of understanding and love among people. The assembly elected a 27-member SUMLP Executive Committee. Jozef Drozd was elected as its chairman.

New Name, Readership for BIZPECNOST

AU2603090690

[Editorial Report] Bratislava SMENA in Slovak on 21 March on page 2 carries a 300-word interview with Ales Pivoda, chief editor of the LINKA 158 [Extension 158]; the place and date are not given. In the interview, Pivoda states that LINKA 158 is a new periodical published by the Federal Ministry of Interior, replacing the biweekly BEZPECNOST [Security]. A "blue version" of this new publication comes out on odd-numbered weeks with a printing of 110,000 issues and is sold to the public, while the "red version" comes out on even-numbered weeks and is for the ministry's internal use only.

Cic Responds to Szuros Letter to Havel

AU2603075390 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 19 Mar 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "From the Television Address Made by Slovak Premier Milan Cic on 17 March 1990; On the Waves of Understanding"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Last Wednesday [14 March] the government also discussed the letter sent by Matyas Szuros, the Republic of Hungary's acting president, to our president, Vaclav Havel. Mr. Szuros regrets that the Hungarian minority's position in our country has not improved. As you have possibly seen in the press, the government's point of view did not go as far as a bitter confrontation. We did not want to damage our good-neighborly relations. However, in no way do we want our friends to view our tolerant approach as weakness. We reject the linking of the Hungarian issue in Slovakia with the Slovak issue in Hungary as inhumane. We cannot turn the ethnic minorities into hostages. However, we will be very pleased if our neighbors understand that nationalistic frictions are being fomented by exponents of the former regime. The current representatives of the Hungarian ethnic minority in our country are distancing themselves from this antagonism. We will gladly invite representatives from the Republic of Hungary to Rye Island [on the Danube] and we will gladly accept an invitation from them so that we can come to a suitable conclusion on how to create a correct ethnic policy. [passage omitted]

Mohorita Visits Poland, Meets With Kwasniewski

AU2603134390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Mar 90 p 1

["(VAS)"-signed report: "V. Mohorita in Poland"]

[Text] Warsaw—On Tuesday [20 March] in Warsaw, Vasil Mohorita, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee first secretary and member of the CSSR Federal Assembly Presidium, met with Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic (SdRP) Supreme Council, and Leszek Miller, general secretary of the SdRP Executive Committee.

They briefed each other on political developments in their respective countries and exchanged experiences about their parties' activities. They devoted particular attention to the CPCZ's preparations for the upcoming parliamentary elections in Czechoslovakia and to the elections to the national councils in Poland.

V. Mohorita, A. Kwasniewski, and L. Miller referred to the extraordinary significance of the current transformations taking place in the countries of Central and East Europe. They emphasized the necessity of further developing true democracy and pluralism in which the left wing must also occupy a strong position. In connection with this, they expressed their support for expanding and intensifying cooperation between the CPCZ and the SdRP, including cooperation between left-wing parliamentary clubs.

Tadeusz Fiszbach, vice marshal of the Polish Republic Sejm and chairman of the initiative group Social Democratic Union, and Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Solidarity citizens parliamentary club and chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Committee, received Vasil Mohorita in the parliament building on the same day. Jan Jozef Lipski, chairman of the Polish Socialist Party, also participated in the meeting with B. Geremek.

The meeting's participants referred to the need for further democratic changes in both countries. They expressed their support for intensifying cooperation between the Czechoslovak and Polish parliaments on the road to Europe.

Slovak Congress Statement on Hungarian Minority

LD2603171490 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] The World Congress of Slovaks adopted a statement on the demands of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. According to Dusan Toth, the general secretary, the statement was issued after receiving many complaints from Slovakia that the Hungarian minority is making unacceptable demands.

The congress expressed concern over the Hungarian propaganda about the position of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia which, however, has a privileged position compared to the situation of Slovaks in Hungary.

The World Congress of Slovaks appealed to the Slovak Republic Government to prevent the denationalization of southern Slovakia and to help protect the Slovak minority in Hungary by demanding reciprocity.

Ethnic Problems in Transylvania Viewed

AU2603165490 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Mar 90 p 12

[Jan Skoda commentary: "A Flood of Political Parties in Transylvania"]

[Text] Political parties have flooded into the political vacuum created after the fall of Ceaucescu's "society of one party and one people" and, at the same time, for understandable reasons, the ethnic minorities have also become more active. Preventing the spread of too many political forces requires time. During the period we have just witnessed, extremist opinions, opinions which cannot accept the country's future pluralist democracy and opinions of which society will take a dim view and with which society will want to part, are also coming to the fore. Extremist, chauvinist, and neo-fascist forces belong to this spectrum. They, in particular, have abused minor incidents between Hungarian and Romanian students at the university in Tirgu Mures and the authorized celebrations marking the anniversary of the Hungarian bourgeois revolution in order to provoke anti-Hungarian pogroms.

It is not fitting for us to sit in judgment over this sensitive matter. However, it is necessary to objectively mention the reactions of the Hungarian authorities whom it cannot be said acted convincingly or exerted a calming influence. It is also a coincidence that everything in Hungary revolves around the parliamentary elections and, perhaps, no political party wants to "show weakness" and not stand up for their Hungarian fellow countrymen in Romania. Extreme nationalistic views and chauvinism are also apparent among Hungarians living in Romania and, unfortunately, in the Hungarian press and in official Hungarian Government circles. For example, the sorrow expressed by Hungarian Foreign Minister Horn at "the loss of two-thirds of Hungarian territory and population after World War I" certainly did not meet with sympathy from Romanians in Transylvania. Whipping up passions and provoking behavior along the lines of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" does not solve anything but instead complicates matters. This must apply to Romanians and Hungarians. The Romanian revolution in December is, moreover, also the achievement of Romanian Hungarians and their representatives who, unlike in the past, sit in supreme offices in Bucharest and influence social developments.

The temporary Romanian Government and parliament has, perhaps, not done everything during its few months in power to improve the status of the Hungarian and other ethnic minorities, but no one can reproach it for its endeavor to seek a new nationalist policy which respects all the internationally recognized human rights. However, political problems must be resolved by political means. No other viable method exists. A UN Commission for Human Rights may investigate the whole affair in Tirgu Mures; however, only the Romanian Government, especially the one that evolves out of the May elections, can adopt political measures to calm the situation and to guarantee ethnic minorities' rights. One must believe that the new state organs in Budapest will also assist constructively in this and that cooperation and friendship on an international scale will prevail over confrontation and nationalism. At the moment, however, it is essential to work in the manner described at a joint meeting between Hungarian and Romanian intellectuals in Budapest and to prevent damage to Romanian- Hungarian relations.

Prague Warsaw Pact Meeting Favorably Assessed

AU2603102190 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 20 Mar 90 p 5

["(KB)"-signed commentary: "In the New Europe"]

[Text] A consultative meeting involving Warsaw Pact foreign ministers was held in Prague on Saturday [17 March]. Today's most topical issues were discussed at the meeting. However, the main issue centered on the external aspects of the unification of both German states within the context of the pan-European process and in connection with the guarantees for European borders.

It is possible to say that the Prague meeting was like a premier. After all, this was the first meeting to be held since the revolutionary changes in East Europe. The Warsaw Pact's regeneration is also associated with this. This was the first truly working meeting—as opposed to the past pre-programmed Council of Ministers' sessions—whose aim was to clarify mutual points of view and standpoints and not to adopt some fundamental document.

The course and atmosphere of the Prague meeting completely corresponded to the new situation and to the new form. The heads of the seven states' diplomatic corps agreed in the course of relatively lively discussions on the majority of issues, but in some matters there was obvious continuing dissent within the Warsaw Pact. If we are to be more precise, agreement prevailed in Prague as far as the necessity of accelerating the Helsinki process is concerned; as far as the necessity of maintaining both military pacts for a specific period is concerned; and, finally, as far as the inalienable right of Germans to unify is concerned. Of course, divergent points of view remained, first and foremost, on whether a united Germany should be a member of NATO or whether it should

become a neutral state. To put it bluntly, while practically all the East European states' foreign ministers expressed their fears about a neutral and uncontrollable Germany, Eduard Shevardnadze—in harmony with the point of view he has already expressed many times—emphatically opposed a united Germany's membership in NATO. Opinions were also not absolutely united on how security measures should be oriented to prevent possible conflicts in Europe....

Therefore, the Czechoslovak proposal for the establishment of a Commission for Security in Europe and its associated proposal for the gradual step-by-step conversion of Europe into a confederation of free and independent nations met with even greater interest and attention.

The Prague meeting, the first to be held under the conditions of the new East European reality—as can be seen—indeed took place in a different way.

Stasi Files Reportedly Taken to Moscow

AU2603104590 Hamburg BILD AM SONNTAG in German 25 Mar 90 p 2

[F. Weckbach-Mara report: "Stasi State Security System Files on the West Taken to Moscow"]

[Text] A top secret report by Western secret services alarmed Bonn government officials during the weekend [24-25 March]. Defected GDR spies unanimously warn that 40-50 leading members of the former Ministry of State Security defected to the KGB with important files on Western politicians. The files, which they handed over to the Soviet security service as a gift, contain comprehensive data on contacts between leading officials of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and senior officials of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], but also on contacts with Eastern politicians by foreign policy experts from the Christian Democratic Union/Christian Social Union and the Free Democratic Party of Germany.

The report to the government suggests that these files are to be used to "purposefully disrupt" the election campaign in the FRG. The GDR election campaign should be used as a model. After all, to this day attempts to make politicians and voters feel insecure—with purposeful remarks on the possible involvement of politicians in secret police activities have been successful. In the same way, the impression should be created during the election campaign in the FRG that many well-known candidates had close relations with the SED or even with the state security system.

Next week politicians from all parties want to discuss how "such a dirty campaign aimed at making people feel insecure" can be prevented.

Politicians Reported To Have Stasi Links

SPD's Boehme Accused

AU2603204590 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 26 Mar 90 pp 26-32

[Unattributed report: "Everything Must Come to Light"]

[Excerpts] The 400 People's Chamber deputies who have been freely elected only recently are faced with a serious suspicion: Have many of them been involved in spying activities for the state security system in the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] state? Two party leaders—De Maiziere (Christian Democratic Union) and Boehme (Social Democratic Party of Germany)—are facing such allegations. Or are the accusations another work of the Stasi state security system? [passage omitted]

A week ago on Friday [16 March]—the chairman of the Democratic Awakening, Wolfgang Schnur, had just resigned because of close Stasi links—leading social democrats from Bonn inquired whether DER SPIEGEL was really investigating Boehme's "past." At this point, there was no specific suspicion, only hints. [passage omitted]

Is Ibrahim Boehme the victim of a defamation campaign? Or is his past overshadowing the present, are the accusations a fact, as one would say in the GDR?

The former Stasi member Wolfgang Zaun (footnote: name changed by the editors), who found a job with the postal administration after he was dismissed from Stasi headquarters, does not understand why his former colleagues lost their jobs when the Stasi was dissolved, whereas another former Stasi member, whom he knows to have served the same cause, was spared and even wants to assume the highest democratic offices.

When Zaun met an old acquaintance of his from the "company"—the Ministry for State Security was known under this name in the GDR—he exploded: "Boehme was also one of us." He mentioned the name of Boehme's alleged controller: Bruno Fritsch (footnote: named changed by the editors) from Neubrandenburg, who was allegedly the controlling officer of the chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] for 10 years and who is now presumably working for the People's Police.

Fritsch's address—Stasi members are not listed in the telephone directory— was found by accident among the 900,000 inhabitants of Neubrandenburg. The Stasi member lived in a concrete block of flats on the outskirts of the town. The findings of two SPIEGEL editors made SPD Chairman Boehme cancel his trip to Vienna scheduled for Thursday evening last week [22 March].

The SPIEGEL editors let him know that they wanted to talk to him urgently, that his past was involved.

Boehme came, accompanied by two witnesses: The former editor in chief of the SPD weekly, VORWAERTS, Gerhard Hirschfeld, who is now the head of the SPD's liaison office in Berlin, and Dankwart Brinksmeier, representative of the Modrow government and Interior Ministry official responsible for monitoring the dissolution of the Stasi.

Fritsch claims that Boehme used to be a regular unofficial worker for the Stasi, under three controlling officers.

—From the end of the sixties to the middle of the seventies, he worked under the code name Paul Bongartz in Greiz (Gera Bezirk);
—from the middle of the seventies to about 1986 as Dr. Rohloff in Neustrelitz (Neubrandenburg Bezirk);
—and since that time until the fall revolution under the code name Maximilian in Berlin.

Boehme reacted calmly: "I do not know any of them." He thinks that he is the victim of a defamation campaign.

So, is he really the victim of a defamation campaign or a plot?

The Stasi officer, who was wearing shorts and a casual shirt when he met with SPIEGEL editors on Wednesday evening [21 March], was apparently terrified. Somebody had found out about his past—and he did not know how. He repeatedly asked how he was discovered. He stressed that Stasi members are "sworn to secrecy"—and he talked about his frustration, his fear, and his anger. He unconditionally served the Stasi for 25 years. "We were the party's protection and shield for 25 years. However, the party did not even protect us 25 hours when we were in for trouble."

The past few weeks were the worst of his whole life. He was without a job—he was rejected by the People's Police—without money, and without a future. Referring to Boehme, he stated: "I still like him." As a matter of fact, "we were brothers and sisters to him, father and mother—everything."

Boehme told us: "Why do you not confront me with him?"

Fritsch only knows from his predecessor how everything started. How it ended, he says he has learned form his successor through occasional inquiries. Manfred, who assumed the name Ibrahim in Berlin—which led to confusion at the Stasi headquarters—rose very quickly at the beginning.

In the computers and files, he was only registered under his name Manfred and his code names. Thus, the Department XX/4, which was responsible for church affairs, tried repeatedly to recruit Ibrahim for the Stasi, without knowing that he had been working for the Stasi as Manfred. "There was considerable confusion which he enjoyed tremendously. Being one of us, he naturally noticed attempts to approach him in a conspiratorial manner."

Boehme replied that he was repeatedly approached by Stasi informers. Of course he noted persons who traveled twice on the same train with him. Attempts were made repeatedly to blackmail him and to drive him out of the country. His attitude toward the former regime is well known. In 1976 he left the SED, spent 15 months in a Stasi prisons, and always worked for those who thought differently, and who were persecuted and surveilled like he himself.

Fritsch gave a similar description of Boehme: "He always had a tremendous sense of justice, and he always worked for the weak."

Boehme used to be more than a simple informer. He never worked for the money. He lived under modest circumstances, and only got what he needed for a living. "Sometimes we gave him 500 marks a month, sometimes more, and sometimes nothing at all." The parka that Boehme had at the time "he got from me."

Boehme's first big case was writer Rainer Kunze ("The Wonderful Years"), who had to emigrate to the FRG in 1977, the former Stasi agent reported. "Boehme did not only supply information to the company, but also assessments and analyses."

Boehme pointed out that he did not approach Kunze, but the writer "invited" him. He himself, who admires this man very much, "would have never dared to approach him."

However, shortly afterwards, problems emerged, Fritsch pointed out. "He was afraid to lose respect within the family. Maybe he was also afraid that we would dissociate ourselves from him." At this time he started to supply forged information "which was completely unfounded." This caused distrust among the Stasi members. They even believed for some time "that he worked for the FRG's Office for the Protection of the Constitution."

At this time, Boehme was indeed facing a few problems: He lost his position as kreis secretary of the Cultural League in Greiz because he invited singers Gerulf Pannach, Bettina Wegener, and writer Juergen Fuchs. In 1976, he left the SED in protest against the expulsion of Wolf Biermann.

Boehme stressed: "It was my decision. I have witnesses."

Fritsch told a different story. Boehme did not leave the party, but he was expelled. There are also two different versions of the reason for another event, a trip to Magdeburg.

Boehme claimed that he threw flyers with subversive slogans when entering the station of Magdeburg: "Long live Robert Havemann" and "Long live the Group of International Marxists GIM."

However, Fritsch claimed that Boehme staged the whole event in order to attract the attention of the Stasi. Before leaving the station, he reported to the police that he had seen somebody throwing flyers.

Boehme rejected this as "simply infamous." He was arrested by the Stasi because of this incident, first in Gera and then in East Berlin. He spent a total of 15 months there.

Fritsch stressed that this was the actual reason why Boehme was expelled from the party. It fit nicely into our concept." Boehme was not convicted. The trial was dropped on the orders of Stasi chief Mielke. "After all, he was one of our fellow fighters." "I personally fetched him from prison," the former Stasi agent stated.

According to Fritsch, a close cooperation began afterwards. He organized a job for Boehme at the press office of the theater in Neustrelitz, he claimed.

Boehme stressed that friends had intervened on his behalf who had nothing whatsoever to do with the Stasi.

Both concur on a small detail: Intendant Weindrich was known under the "nickname, Rubber Oak," Fritsch recalled. "This is true. I coined the name," Boehme stated.

The controlling officer was very satisfied with Boehme. "He worked very hard and fulfilled my orders. He supplied assessments of persons from the theater scene. This information was very valuable for us." Boehme is an excellent analyzer, and his memory is fantastic. "I was fascinated by how precise this man was able to store information and call it up again. If he was given a dictaphone, he would speak in a way that was ready for printing. He spoke so fast that we had problems exchanging the tapes."

Yet because of his liking for contradicting people he soon got into difficulties with the party's responsible culture secretary. Boehme was dismissed from the theater shortly after he had criticized the local high-ranking SED official at a meeting.

Subsequently he made a living by working as a waiter and translator, worker at a timber-yard and librarian in the municipal library. Fritsch still recalls the "apartment on Toepferberg in Neustrelitz which was always very cold." At that time, Boehme was particularly dependent on the support of the company.

This special care yielded results. Even in Neustrelitz, but much more so later on in Berlin, Boehme became valuable for the Stasi. He managed to establish contacts with peace circles that were set up in the surroundings of the church, and also with the clergymen Markus Meckel, Martin Gutzeit, and Gottfried Timm, whom he impressed with lectures on Bertha von Suttner and Victor Klemperer.

Even this detail is identical with how Boehme recounts that era: He said that he gave "lectures on Bertha von Suttner and Tolstoy" and that he was subsequently invited to the annual peace seminars in August in Meckel's parish Viperow.

The Stasi agent said that within no time, "Dr. Rohloff" was trusted by Meckel and provided detailed information on the participants, the contents, and the strategies of the peace seminars.

Boehme: Nonsense, "hundreds of people" participated in the peace seminars, how should he have been able to provide detailed information? Fritsch stated that at that time the Stasi tried to recruit Meckel and Gutzeit—however unsuccessfully. Meckel flatly refused any offer, and it was impossible to bug his house "because it was in such a poor state that the walls would have collapsed if we had tried to drill a hole somewhere." Later the Meckel circle became the germ cell for the social democratic party of the GDR, which was originally called SDP. Fritsch said that he was still proud of the fact that Boehme decisively influenced this development—always in the spirit of the company.

Boehme's work in this context was most successful, and he often managed to prevent these debating societies from developing into action groups, and words into deeds.

Fritsch recalled an open letter, which the peace friends of Viperow wanted to send to FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl and SED State Council Chairman Erich Honecker. "He discussed this question for such a long time that the circle got lost in arguments of how to formulate the letter until there was no longer a quorum. We did not consider this a failure."

Boehme also remembers this letter: The subject was the SED's and SPD's proposal on a zone in central Europe that was free of chemical weapons; however, he was strongly in favor of publishing the letter, whereas "Meckel was against it."

Fritsch continued to say that in the middle of the eighties Berlin had a "major interest" in Boehme. He had moved from Neustrelitz to Berlin, Manfred became Ibrahim Boehme (Fritsch: "One day he simply adopted this name"), and "Dr. Rohloff" became "Maximilian."

Boehme: "Maximilian? The only person I know by this name is a child."

Fritsch is familiar with Boehme's time in Berlin only by hearsay. He stated that a new leading officer told him that "Maximilian" had contacts with all prominent people of the scene, and that he had become a leading figure himself.

The new leading officer, whose father had already worked for the Stasi, would not say much. He knows Boehme "only from the newspapers," Kurt Mies (footnote: name changed by the editors) said last Friday in front of the door to his apartment.

Former Stasi agent Fritsch does not have any piece of evidence. He claims that all the files are in Berlin.

Fritsch's word is now against Boehme's. Why should Stasi agent Fritsch invent details, some of which were even confirmed by Boehme? Without any files and evidence—because there will not be any if he is not guilty—how should Boehme be able to defend himself convincingly if everything was made up and is part of a conspiracy against him?

The other people that were confronted with similar charges or even those that made these charges are probably in a similar situation. [passage omitted]

De Maiziere, Boehme Defended

LD2603120290 Hamburg DPA in German 1033 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—The chairman of Democratic Awakening [DA] Pastor Rainer Eppelmann, has defended the CDU [Christian Democratic Union] Chairman Lothar de Maiziere, and [Social Democratic Party] SPD Chairman Ibrahim Boehme, who are

accused of alleged collaboration with the state security service [Stasi]. "There is nothing in it. I beleive De Maiziere and also Boehme," Eppelmann said in an interview with BILD (tomorrow's edition) [27 March].

Eppelmann described as "irresponsible" the behavior of Werner Fischer, the government representative responsible for disbanding the state security service, who has pointed to alleged cooperation with the Stasi by newly-elected People's Chamber deputies.

"As much as I understand his endeavor to bring openness into our society it is simply disastrous to make the public uncertain with unproven assertions." With this Fischer was achieving "only hysteria and a lynch mob atmosphere." He should have "discussed his suspicions quietly with the appropriate institutions."

Eppelmann, speaking about the coalition negotiations said: "I imagine that nutritionists would not object to the SPD swallowing the DSU [German Social Union] toad, after all. That means I consider it quite conceivable that the SPD will enter the coalition. From our point of view that is desirable."

Erfurt Officials Listed

AU2603122690 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 20 Mar 90 p 2

["me"-signed report: "Efurt Politicians Discovered in Stasi Files"]

[Text] Wiesbaden, 19 March—On Monday [19 March], members of the government commission for the dissolution of the State Security Service [Stasi] in Erfurt handed over to the Erfurt public prosecutor files from the former Stasi headquarters, in which People's Chamber candidates from Erfurt Bezirk are listed as unofficial former Stasi employees, according to reports from the commission. On Hesse Radio commission members said that at the moment they are not yet permitted to give any names. However, those listed include "top candidates" from Erfurt Bezirk.

In addition, they reported numerous anonymous threats, which were intended to prevent a publication of the findings. Furthermore, the commission members had been abused as "knockers," whose investigations might cause delays in the process of German unification and might thus cost the GDR much money.

Another commission member said that after the election result of Sunday [18 March] one has to "proceed from the premise" that former Stasi employees will also be included in the future GDR Government.

Gerlach Calls for Investigation of All Deputies

LD2603165490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1611 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The acting chairman of the GDR State Council, Manfred Gerlach, has come out in favor of investigating all People's Chamber deputies and reserve candidates, as well as government members, by examining files. It would be desirable, Gerlach said, if the investigation of all 400 deputies could be concluded before the People's Chamber convenes, with consensus between the parties or parliamentary groups. If necessary, this might have to take place immediately after the constitution of the People's Chamber.

A statement on this passed to ADN on Monday [26 March] stresses that "the democratic legitimization of the newly elected People's Chamber involves, in continuation of the peaceful revolution in our country, above all the certainty that all its deputies are committed only to the people." Following the recent claims about candidates and deputies that they had formerly worked for the Ministry of State Security, a complete investigation of these matters is urgently needed. The public should be informed of the results.

Referring to statements recently made in the FRG, according to which the Constitution of the GDR is no longer valid, they were null and void even from the start. Prof. Gerlach emphatically stated that the Constitution adopted by the People's Chamber on 6 April 1968 is fully valid and can only be amended or invalidated by the People's Chamber itself. "He who calls this state of affairs into question, and thus the validity of the laws passed on the basis of the Constitution, is leaving the basis of state legality and provoking anarchic conditions. [no closing quotation marks as received]

Therefore, the State Council is convening, in accordance with the Constitution, the first session of the newly elected People's Chamber, which in line with Article 62 of the Constitution must meet on the 30th day after its election at the latest.

Office for Protection of Constitution Criticized

AU2603133990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Mar 90 p 2

[Ingolf Bossenz commentary: "Midwife"]

[Text] Whoever thought that with the dissolution of the GDR State Security Service [Stasi] he would be giving a signal extending beyond our country's western border has been put right by reports in the past few days. "For the time being, the dismantling of the GDR Stasi will not be followed by a general reduction of the Federal Office and the Land Offices for the Protection of the Constitution," it was stated, for example, in a TAGESSPIEGEL report. The FRG interior minister's conference working group also does not see any reason for "hectic action."

Apparently this appeasement is intended for overzealous persons who, impressed by political changes in the direction of detente, also want to extend this to the security sector. Such considerations show a complete failure to appreciate the situation. If we believe Interior Minister Schaeuble, the FRG was never so endangered as it is now. Since the Ministry for State Security has been lost as an enemy, old cardboard comrades are being reactivated. In addition to the specter of a "new wave of espionage," above all the activities of a "new left" are mentioned. Considering such media-effective threat stories, it is not surprising that most of the land offices for the Protection of the Constitution have come to the conclusion: "We have been short-staffed for a long time."

And now a new field of activity is opened up for the Office for the Protection of the Constitution. That is, if a new GDR secret service is established—if the new government still considers this necessary. In this case the Bonn Office for the Protection of the Constitution would probably be the only eligible model. Some statements in this direction have already been made. Indeed, one cannot imagine a better midwife for a new office for the protection of the constitution. The many thousands of victims of the employment ban in the FRG and the politically committed democrats there can tell you a thing or two about that.

Prosecutor on Charges Against Former Leaders

LD2603144690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1256 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The investigations conducted by the state prosecutor general against Erich Honecker, the former SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] general secretary and State Council chairman, and the former Politburo members Guenter Mittag, Erich Miekle, and Joachim Herrmann have confirmed neither the suspicion of high treason nor that of unconstitutional activities. Furthermore, for constitutional reasons, the question of high treason could not be applied. This was announced today by the News Office of the GDR State Prosecutor General's Office.

The State Prosecutor's Office was to this extent in agreement with the view held by well-known lawyers in the GDR and the FRG, who have repeatedly expressed doubts about the constitutionality of the GDR high-treason regulations. Permanent violations of the Constitution, which without doubt were known, the State Prosecutor General's Office said, were caused by a distorted, Stalinist attitude about the leading role of the party, and were to be ascribed generally to the former system. However, they could not be pursued legally as high treason, it was said.

Irrespective of this, the State Prosecutor General's Office would summarize and document its conclusions and hand them to the People's Chamber.

The actions investigated, however, gave grounds in the case of the accused Honecker, Mielke, and Mittag for the urgent suspicion of other crimes and offenses, the State Prosecutor General's Office said. For instance, investigations are in progress against Honecker on suspicion of serious cases of corruption and abuse of trust in connection with enormous waste of state resources, among other things in the construction of leisure facilities, the provision of privileged supplies and unjustified private flights. In the case of Mittag, too, the investigations into the waste of state resources, for example in the construction and development of his leisure facilities, are continuing.

Over and above this, Meilke is suspected—in connection with orders issued regarding the detentions on 7 and 8 October 1989—of wrongful imprisonment, and, through issuing instructions on telephone tapping and on the illegal removal of foreign exchange from mail by members of the former Ministry of State Security, of false assumption of authority and of theft. Investigations are also being conducted against him on suspicion of inciting miscarriage of justice in connection with the supression of charges of electoral fraud.

In view of the extent of these investigations, and the poor state of health, confirmed by medical reports, of the accused, some of whom are no longer capable of being interrogated, it has not yet been possible to conclude the investigations, it is further stated. The measures taken by the State Prosecutor's Office, in the interest of claims for compensation, to seize assets, accounts and real estate, would be maintained.

With regard to Herrmann, who has been under investigation exculsively on suspicion of high treason through violation of media freedom, the State Prosecutor's Office has ordered his release from custody and an end to the proceedings.

Certain Rights, Duties of Deputies Published

AU2603102390 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 20 Mar 90 p 2

[ADN/DM report: "Rights and Duties of the Elected Deputies"]

[Text] East Berlin—On Monday [19 March] People's Chamber President Guenther Maleuda sent the following statement to ADN:

For the deputies of the GDR People's Chamber (10th election period) who were elected on 18 March 1990 the following regulations on the rights and duties of GDR People's Chamber deputies apply, in accordance with Article 60 of the GDR Constitution and Sections 45 and 46 of the People's Chamber's Standing Orders.

On this basis, the following has been set down:

1. In accordance with Article 60 of the GDR Constitution, the People's Chamber deputies elected on 18 March 1990 are to be supported in carrying out their tasks. They

are to be released from their professional work as far as this is necessary for them to carry out their tasks as deputies.

2. The written notice by the GDR Election Commission on the legality of their election as deputies (Section 37, Subsection 4 of the Law on the GDR People's Chamber Elections on 18 March 1990) is the legitimation for assuming the right to free transportation on all means of public transportation in accordance with Section 45 of the Standing Orders of the People's Chamber.

3. The written notice by the GDR Election Commission also entitles the deputies to enter the GDR People's Chamber and its buildings.

De Maiziere Discusses Coalition, Unification

AU2603125790 Hamburg WELT AM SONNTAG in German 25 Mar 90 p 6

[Report on interview with Lothar de Maiziere, Christian Democratic Union of Germany chairman and designated GDR premier, by Heinz Vielain; place and date not given: "Soon the State Council Will Not Exist Anymore"]

[Text] Bonn—On 23 March, Lothar de Maiziere, Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU] chairman, expressed his readiness to run for the office of premier. In an interview with WELT AM SONNTAG he explained his plans.

[Vielain] What will happen to the institutions of State Council and State Council chairman, an office once held by Honecker?

[De Maiziere] We think that soon the State Council will not exist anymore. In the future, we will need a president. He must be a figure who enjoys the trust of the overwhelming majority of our population. We will find such a president. In order to give up the State Council and the State Council chairman we need a change in the Constitution. I assume that this will be decided with the majority of almost all parties.

[Vielain] The Alliance—CDU, DSU [German Social Union], and DA [Democratic Awakening]—has 192 People's Chamber deputies. You say that for the GDR's accession to the FRG in line with Article 23 of the Basic Law one needs a two-thirds majority. There are experts who contradict that....

[De Maiziere] The unification with all its consequences will be the end of the People's Chamber's work. I am firmly convinced that the path via Article 23 of the Basic Law is the correct one toward Germany's unification. I think that at the appropriate time there will be the required majority for this path.

[Vielain] A grand coalition at any cost? What is the limit of your goodwill? SPD [Social Democratic Party] instead of DSU—is this possible?

[De Maiziere] The grand coalition is still desirable. We do not cut back the offer to the SPD. But we will not bend over backward, either.

[Vielain] There will not be a group community of the CDU, DSU, and DA, but a working team of the Alliance deputies. Is this not an impediment to practical work in parliament?

[De Maiziere] Whether something becomes an impediment can be judged only if one has followed at least part of the path. The Standing Orders of the People's Chamber do not envision a group community, as exists between the CDU and the Christian Social Union in the Bundestag. Parliamentary work in our country must be adjusted to the conditions in the People's Chamber. Furthermore, we would not have agreed on the working team if we did not consider it feasible.

[Vielain] This week you discussed further steps on the path toward German unity with the FRG chancellor. Is progress being made?

[De Maiziere] The negotiations on monetary, economic,and social union are well under way, even though the framework conditions are extraordinarily difficult. This is already very much. The parties in our country are not called upon to form groups in the People's Chamber and to select a government team. What has to be then done jointly will be set down in the government statement.

[Vielain] Monetary, economic, and social union—the FRG Government wants to have achieved this all by the beginning of July. What is your schedule in the GDR?

[De Maiziere] Neither I nor others will give exact dates, because we do not want to create any room for speculation concerning the change in currency. This cannot be in the interest of the GDR. GDR citizens now have the opportunity to travel after years of living with the Wall. This is a new, important experience for them. They want to travel soon, with the right money in their pockets. Therefore, I say: It is to happen in summer.

[Vielain] One of the topical problems in the GDR is the National People's Army [NVA]. What is to happen to the NVA?

[De Maiziere] You know that we are on the point of shortening military service. In addition, we have established a regulation on social peace service. In my view, this will considerably change the world of the NVA. I think that this question is also strongly linked with the results, which have to be achieved within the framework of the two-plus-four talks. I do not want to burden these talks, which are certainly not without problems, with forecasts. We assume that for the reason of balance there will have to be armed forces in the GDR with tasks that have to be set down. Therefore, there is no reason for soldiers to despair or to say that they made a completely wrong decision in their lives.

[Vielain] This week there were indications in the GDR that former Stasi [State Security Service] employees have

been elected to the new People's Chamber. Is there any concrete information on this subject or are rumors being spread to discredit the first freely elected parliament in the GDR?

[De Maiziere] First, it is we who have to come to terms with the Stasi problem, we people in the GDR. Second, the FRG media are not always helpful in this respect. Third, I see a considerable problem in the fact that the first freely elected parliament is burdened with this kind of discussions. In any case, we will look for methods to eliminate all doubts about the parliament that people in the GDR could have.

[Vielain] Does the revelation of a potential Stasi past also concern the deputies of the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism], that is, the former SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany]?

[De Maiziere] If one decides to check the legitimacy of a freely elected parliament, which has not even been constituted yet, that is, if one decides to take such a comprehensive step, it is natural that all groups have to be included, also the PDS.

CDU Proposes De Maiziere for Premier

LD2603135590 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1322 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Christian Democratic Union [CDU] party executive today proposed Party Chairman Lothar de Maiziere for the office of premier, with one abstention and no vote against. This was announced this afternoon at the end of CDU press spokesman Helmut Lueck's briefing for foreign and GDR journalists.

The CDU chairman stated his willingness on 23 March to take on that office.

De Maiziere Elected CDU Parliamentary Leader

LD2703110990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0946 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—In Berlin this morning, Lothar de Maiziere was elected chairman of the parliamentary group of the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] with a clear majority. With 82 votes out of the total of 158 deputies present, the CDU chairman received the simple majority necessary.

De Maiziere: New Government Possible in 2 Weeks

LD2603142190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1355 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—CDU [Christian Democratic Union] Chairman Lothar de Maiziere considers it possible that the new GDR Government could be formed in two weeks' time. Speaking at a news conference today he said that he proceeds from the premise that the People's Chamber would constitute itself probably next week and would ask him to form a government. This could then take place the following week.

Gysi Speaks on PDS Role in People's Chamber

LD2603123890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1154 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The People's Chamber group of the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism] at its constituent session in Berlin today said that earlier cooperation of parliamentary deputies with the former state security service has to be cleared up in a responsible manner. PDS Chairman Gregor Gysi, elected earlier as parliamentary group chairman, said this at a news conference. The majority of the deputies agreed that in this the rule of law and the rights of the individual must be respected. There should be no mood of revenge. The PDS supports the proposal to discuss this subject in talks with the various parliamentary groups and to await the results on this. Gysi recommended that members of his group should come clean if any of them had worked for the former Ministry of State Security. Dr. Hans Modrow was presented to journalists as the PDS group's candidate for the office of People's Chamber president. Modrow has proved in the past that he is able to look after not only the interests of the party but also those of all society. Modrow expressed himself optimistic about his election. He said it will be a sign of democracy if there are several candidates for the office.

In its parliamentary work the PDS wants to prove itself as a constructive opposition, Gysi said. However, this does not mean that every proposal of the alliance will be rejected. Dialogue will be sought and more democracy will be attempted. The group will introduce its own legislative initiatives as quickly as possible, "for we have little time left in this country." He called for the cooperation of the group with the European Parliament and the parliaments of the West and East European states. Relations with the Bundestag groups, too, will not be rejected. The group called for the working out of a new GDR constitution, which should be confirmed by referendum. This will strengthen the position of the GDR in the unification process. Laws that change the constitution will be agreed upon only if they do not curtail the position of the GDR or the citizens' rights.

Gysi News Conference on Election Results

AU2603080990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Mar 90 p 1

[ND report: "Alliances Will Be Decided on Site"]

[Text] East Berlin—On Tuesday afternoon [20 March] in the international news center in Berlin, Gregor Gysi held an international news conference on the results of the elections.

[Reporter] How will the Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] act as a constructive opposition in the People's Chamber?

[Gysi] First of all, one has to note agreement with the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU] that there will not be any individual accession of future GDR laender to the FRG. In connection with the Constitution, international and national aspects must be equally taken into account. As the opposition, the PDS will publish all questions on this issue.

[Reporter] What is a realistic schedule for unification?

[Gysi] The promises of dates, which have been repeatedly heard over the past few days and have then been either modified or retracted a few days later, seem to be a dubious method. It is necessary to state which technical questions have to be cleared up. Which law on pregnancy is to be valid—that of the GDR or that of the FRG; our trade union law or that of the FRG; is the GDR citizens' right to property to be disputed....? One has to expect of the government that it clearly says which questions have to be settled.

[Reporter] Will there be alliances with other parties, also in view of the local elections?

[Gysi] Yes. But which ones will be decided on site, depending on the technical questions that have to be solved.

[Reporter] Will Elmar Pieroth (CDU) be the GDR's future econmics minister?

[Gysi] Theoretically, the Constitution leaves this question open. But this would be unacceptable. The GDR CDU must have the strength to find an economic expert in its own ranks—or a nonparty expert—who knows the conditions in our country.

People's Chamber President on Unification, Future

AU2603074590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Mar 90 p 2

[Interview with People's Chamber President Guenther Maleuda by Rene Heilig in East Berlin on 18 March]

[Text] [Heilig] Mr. Maleuda, the winners of the elections now say that this is the end of communism. What do you say?

[Maleuda] So far we have not had any communism. Now things are proceeding in the direction of a free market economy. Everyone has adjusted to this.

[Heilig] When will we have German unity?

[Maleuda] I think that neither Mr. Kohl nor Mr. Brandt nor Mr. Maleuda can predict this. In our country this process has such a dynamism that one must not set dates carelessly.

[Heilig] Can you tell us something about Hans Modrow's future?

[Maleuda] Well, if it were my decision, he would become premier tomorrow. It is a pity that this will not happen.

[Heilig] Can you imagine that the farmers, who will start sowing in a few days, will still harvest their property?

[Maleuda] They will sow and harvest not only this year, they will sow and harvest and produce bread for all parties also over the next 10 and 20 years.

Parties Agree on 3 Apr People's Chamber Session

LD2703120190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0931 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Alliance for Germany and the League of Free Democrats parties intend to hold the first constituent session of the People's Chamber on Tuesday, 3 April 1990. The two sides agreed on this in further coalition talks, which were held on 26 March at the Berlin headquarters of the Christian Democratic Union, in order to arrive at a viable parliament as quickly as possible, says a joint statement issued today. With a view to this date, the alliance expects a definitive answer from the Social Democratic Party before the coming weekend as to whether or not it is prepared to enter coalition negotiations.

Young Democrats Organization Formed

LD2603200990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1832 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—"Young Democrats-the Young of Democratic Awakening" is the name of a youth organization that has been formed and that is close to the Democratic Awakening. Michael Hahn has been elected chairman. [passage omitted]

State Council Chairman on Election Results

AU2603081490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Mar 90 p 2

[Interview with GDR State Council Chairman Manfred Gerlach by Rene Heilig in Berlin on 18 March]

[Text] [Heilig] You are still acting chairman of the State Council. Would you comment on the election result, which is surprising for many people, from this point of view?

[Gerlach] Indeed, the result is surprising. However, it shows that a majority is in favor of unity, of the unity of Germany as quickly as possible.

[Heilig] Our neighbors also have a word to say on this.

[Gerlach] Unification is to take place without fear among our neighbors.

[Heilig] How long will you continue to be State Council chairman?

[Gerlach] Until a new one has been elected. I will come to an understanding with the groups of the future People's Chamber. Together, we will then convene the People's Chamber. I am facing my last days in office.

Peasants Party Offers To Enter Coalition

LD2603161890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1531 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany [DBD] has offered to cooperate in a government coalition in the GDR. The DBD Executive came out in favour of this on Monday [26 March] at a meeting in Borkheide (Potsdam area [bezirk]), the First Deputy Chairman of the party, Ulrich Junghands, told the press in Berlin.

The DBD has not yet received an offer of cooperation in a coalition government. However, it wishes, as representative of the interests of the farmers, to bring its competence in the spheres of agriculture, environmental protection, and problems relating to property ownership into a future government.

SPD Official Favors Talks With CDU

LD2403100690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0332 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Social Democratic Party [SPD] Executive Member Konrad Elmer has spoken in favor of serious exploratory talks with the Christian Democratic Union [CDU] in an interview for Saturday's GDR edition of "TAZ".

The Social Democrats could and would not afford to appear to be the "hinderers of the process of unification". "We would maneuver ourselves into this position if we refuse. If we have to cooperate here in any case I say to myself: It is cleverer politically to negotiate something for people in this country in exchange for this cooperation." The SPD intends to negotiate a serious right to help shape policy and not merely a right to oppose with which it would not have any serious influence. "Responsibility for our population advises me not to say adamantly: There is no question of a coalition."

The talks on Monday he has in mind had first of all been an offer "of adhering to democratic practices". They now want to sound out seriously whether there might be a point in coalition talks with the CDU. Elmer added that the executive had been under the immediate influence of many telegrams, mainly from the south, which said: "We shall disband if you enter into government with them." The decision had been determined too much by "the emotional background". On Friday, members of the executive in the parliamentary group put forward more differentiated positions.

Touching on the content of the future work of a government, Elmer cited the retention of the abortion law and clarifying the issue of land rights as important points. He placed great value on anchoring the right of workers to have a say more firmly in the constitution, including an equal right to have a say in large-scale enterprises.

Konrad Elmer at the same time renewed his party's statement that it would only enter into the government without the DSU.

Women's Union Breaks Coalition With Greens

LD2303142890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1240 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The Independent Women's Union (UFV) today terminated its election coalition with the Green Party. At the same time, it rejected its associate status in the parliamentary group composed of Alliance 90 and the Green Party which is in the process of being formed. A statement by the UFV Spokespersons' Council says that they were, however, still prepared for all businesslike cooperation with the Green Party.

The refusal by the Green Party to allocate three of its eight seats gained to UFV candidates is given as the reason for rejecting the election alliance. The spokespersons' council describes the position of the coalition partner as disregard for the will of the electorate.

The negotiations in the run-up to the elections about the composition of the election lists and People's Chamber seats envisaged a ratio of two-thirds for the Green Party and one-third for the UFV. The voting results for the UFV/Green Party (1.96 percent) meant that as a result of the Green Party occupying the first places on the list, all eight seats fell to the latter.

ADN learned in response to questioning that the Green Party will probably comment on the issue this afternoon.

Democratic Youth League Holds Founding Assembly

AU2603095890 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 20 Mar 90 p 3

[ADN report: "Cooperation in New Youth Association"]

[Text] East Berlin—Over the weekend [17-18 March] the Democratic Youth League (DJB) [Demokratischer Jungendbund] held its founding assembly. According to a press release, it is the organizational structure for youth representations as well as associations or unions of youth representations all over the republic and articulates their interests in talks with the state. The DJB expresses its hope that the new GDR Government will advocate the interests of children and young people and will ensure and increase their rights.

FRG CDU's Ruehe on Elections, Unification

AU2603091490 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Mar 90 p 2

[Interview with Volker Ruehe, secretary general of the Christian Democratic Union, by Rene Heilig in East Berlin on 18 March]

[Text] [Heilig] How do you see the election results?

[Ruehe] It is now 2130 and I see the whole matter as a success for democracy. And here in the GDR it is certainly a success for the alliance parties. Personally, we are very happy about the approval for Helmut Kohl.

[Heilig] For Helmut Kohl, not for the Christian Democratic Union of Germany?

[Ruehe] For Helmut Kohl. Have you ever been at one of the rallies?

[Heilig] Yes. You count on the path via Article 23?

[Ruehe] The Alliance for Germany has come out in favor of making the core of FRG Basic Law the basis of a constitution for all of Germany.

[Heilig] Thus, you rule out a referendum on a new constitution or the working out of one? [Ruehe] We are against decisions by referendum in general. We have had bad experiences with this.

SPD Deputy Voigt on Unification, Elections

AU2603083090 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Mar 90 p 2

[Interview with Karsten Voigt, FRG Bundestag deputy of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, by Rene Heilig in East Berlin on 18 March]

[Text] [Heilig] Stability in Europe—how do you see this problem after the GDR elections?

[Voigt] German unity cannot take place without both parts of Germany and the united Germany being in the EC. We must conclude contracts with the EC. And an EC which does not take this into account is not only irrational, it is even destabilizing.

The second thing is the security aspect. One cannot bring about German unity without having come to basic agreements that outline the political situation as regards Germany.

[Heilig] Were these GDR elections or German elections?

[Voigt] They were absolutely German elections. German elections in the GDR. The people here did not vote for the West Christian Democratic Union [CDU] or for the East CDU, they voted for the CDU from the viewpoint of the 100 Deutsche mark notes.

[Heilig] Did you not also vote for the FRG's Social Democratic Party of Germany [as published]?

[Voigt] I think so.

[Heilig] Are you afraid for Lafontaine's future?

[Voigt] No. Not at all. He will be nominated and we will support him.

Rostock Chief Mayor Resigns Under Pressure

LD2603162790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1313 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Rostock (ADN)—Following massive calls for his resignation by Rostock parties and pressure groups, the chief mayor of the city, Dr. Henning Schleiff, resigned his office on Monday [26 March] afternoon.

He was accused, among other things, of abuse of power and the illegal conclusion of contracts with West German firms. Representatives of the roundtable had occupied the town hall since this morning.

Passport Entry Required for Official Trips

AU2703070990 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 23 Mar 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Information of the Interior Ministry on Official Trips"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—For official trips of GDR citizens to the PRC, the DPRK, the SRV, the SFRY, the USSR, and the LPDR an entry on the official purpose of the trip is required in their passports. According to the Press and Information Department of the Ministry for Interior Affairs, this entry is the prerequisite for the border control authorities of the mentioned states to permit entry without visas.

Responsible persons in enterprises, institutions, and other facilities who send people on official trips to the states mentioned are asked to consult the passport and registration department of the responsible People's Police kreis office.

Agreement for Oil Plant Sale to USSR

AU2603143790 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 23 Mar 90 p 2

[ADN/BZ report: "GDR Supplies Oil Plant to USSR"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN/BZ)—An agreement on the supply of another oil processing plant to the Soviet Union was signed in Berlin yesterday. The Berlin Chemical Plant Export-Import State Enterprise [VEB] signed a respective agreement with its Soviet partner V/O Mashinoimport from Moscow for the VEB Plant Construction in Karl-Marx-Stadt. The GDR enterprise, which will call itself Plant Construction and Machine Building Trading Company in the future, will supply this plant, valued at more than 47 million marks, in 1991.

Savings Bank Association Established

AU2603143490 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 21 Mar 90 p 1

[ADN report: "GDR Savings Banks Association Established"]

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The qualifications of the more than 20,000 employees in the 196 GDR savings banks determines the future market shares of these financial institutes.

This was stressed by Rainer Voigt, newly elected president of the association and director of the savings bank department of the GDR State Bank, at the founding assembly of the GDR Savings Bank Association in Strausberg yesterday. He mentioned the conditions for the success of the savings banks, which will work as independent financial and credit institutions as of 1 April 1990, in a market economy. [passage omitted]

State Bank President Horst Kaminsky pleaded for an atmosphere of healthy competition and fairness in the struggle for market shares. He reported on the increase from 1.6 billion to 2.4 billion marks of the savings banks' capital being withdrawn from the funds of the State Bank. [passage omitted]

Anti-Drug Education, Measures Planned

AU2203141690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Mar 90 p 2

[ND-Hannes/ADN report: "Strategy Against Drug Abuse?"]

[Text] East Berlin—Since November 1989 employees of the GDR Customs Service have found drugs in 347 cases. In most cases the drugs found amounted to two to four grams. In one case 3,380 grams of cocaine were seized at Schoenefeld airport. This was announced at a press conference in the GDR Ministry of Health and Social Affairs on Thursday [15 March]. The drugs were intended to be sold mainly in discotheques and restaurants.

In order to counter the incipient danger of drug abuse, the population has to be informed more intensively and a national strategy has to be worked out for this purpose, Bodo Schoenheit, GDR deputy minister of health and social affairs stated. At present efforts are being made for the cooperation with experts from various ministries, with representatives of citizens initiatives and of the church. It was repeatedly stressed that the new drugs must not be separated from the old drug alcohol and the information campaign must be specifically aimed at children, young people, and students.

They know relatively little about the phenomenon of drugs. Their ability to come to terms with conflicts is undeveloped. As a result they are particularly receptive to drugs and must be specially protected.

The initiative groups "Parents and Young People Against Drugs" has dedicated itself to this task. It also participates in the work of the Central Coordination Group for Anti-Drug Measures.

Collating information and education material is also urgently necessary. First approaches are documents from the German Hygiene Museum in Dresden and of URANIA. Further material, to which experts from Berlin (West) are also contributing, is being prepared.

The GDR laws on drugs make the prevention and consultation more difficult, because these laws make the use of drugs a criminal offense. Frank talks with affected people are therefore seriously impeded. According to Bodo Schoenheit, the Coordination Group, is in favor of rescinding the corresponding implementation regulation.

State Company To Become Stock Corporation

AU2203141990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Mar 90 p 3

[ADN report: "New Insurance Stock Corporation Takes Over All Contracts"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—The GDR State Insurance Company will be turned into a stock corporation as of 1 May 1990 and will be called "Deutsche Versicherungs-AG" [German Insurance Stock Corporation]. The Council of Ministers has approved this decision. Allianz-AG Holding Berlin and Munich will take over some shares, and at the same time, also participates in the considerations to develop market economy behavior.

As the State Insurance Company reported, this ensures that all obligations toward the insured citizens and enterprises will be fulfilled without any changes. [passage omitted]

Advertising Contract Between TV, French Firm

LD2603140990 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1250 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A marketing contract for advertising slots on GDR television has been concluded between Deutscher Fernsehfunk (DFF) and the French firm of Information and Publicite, Paris. DFF announced today that a concept on product advertising on television, as confirmed by the GDR media control council, is part of the contract. Advertising is to provide Deutsche Fernsehfunk with the requisite means to produce programs meeting exacting cultural standards. The Information and Publicity group, active within a European framework, has branches in Paris, Amsterdam, Brussels, Frankfurt am Main, Lisbon, Luxembourg, and Zurich, which have been included in the contract.

Arts, Culture, Media Union Established

AU2603131390 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 21 Mar 90 p 2

[ADN/BZ report: "Cooperation Contract With FRG Colleagues"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN/BZ)—The Arts, Culture, and Media Trade Union was established in Berlin on 19 March.

It developed from the former Arts Trade Union and wants to represent the union rights of the GDR artists and persons engaged in the cultural sector, the employees of radio and television, art universities, colleges, music schools, museums, and institutions for the preservation of monuments, and of free-lancers.

In the evening, the 280 delegates of the extraordinary central delegates' conference adopted statutes in which the trade union advocates consistent democratization in the state, economy, and society. In an action program, every future government and every municipality is requested to preserve the cultural powers of the country and to provide the means required for this.

In another basic petition, the delegates entrusted the new main executive committee with the preparation of a gradual unification with the Printing and Paper Trade Union and the Journalists Association.

In addition, they agreed to a cooperation contract with the FRG Media, Printing, Paper, Journalism, and Arts Union, in which the two trade union commit themselves, among other things, to providing support in labor conflicts.

Election Standings With 80 Percent of Vote

LD2603211790 Budapest MTI in English 2011 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 26 (MTI)—After counting up a further 250,000 ballots, the national summarization of the regional lists is as follows on Monday [26 March] evening: on the basis of 3,930,383 votes cast, which is approximately 80 per cent of the valid votes, in percentage:

Hungarian Democratic Forum	24.50
Alliance of Free Democrats	21.18
Independent Smallholders' Party	12.16
Hungarian Socialist Party	10.65
Federation of Young Democrats	8.77
Christian Democratic People's Party	6.42
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party	3.63
Social Democratic Party of Hungary	3.57
Agrarian Federation	3.30
Entrepreneur's Party	2.03
Patriotic Electoral Coalition	1.98
Hungarian People's Party	0.77
Green Party of Hungary	0.30
National Smallholders' Party	0.25

Unofficial Local County Election Results

Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen, Pest

LD2603200690 Budapest MTI in English 1825 GMT 26 Mar 90

["Elections—Regional Partial Results"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, March 26 (MTI)—

Borsod-Abauj-Zemplen County: After the computerized processing of the votes so far, 52.57 percent of the records have been evaluated, and the 479 records indicate:

Hungarian Democratic Forum	25.0 percent
Alliance of Free Democrats	16.6
Hungarian Socialist Party	14.95
Independent Smallholders' Party	9.43
Christian Democratic People's Party	8.49
Federation of Young Democrats	8.1
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party	4.37
Social Democratic Party of Hungary	3.77
Agrarian Federation	3.6
Green Party of Hungary	2.2
Entrepreneurs' Party	2.0
Patriotic Electoral Coalition	1.33
Hungarian People's Party	1.24

Pest County

After processing 90.19 percent of the records for the regional list:

Hungarian Democratic Forum	26.79
Alliance of Free Democrats	22.53
Independent Smallholders' Party	12.97
Federation of Young Democrats	9.79
Hungarian Socialist Party	9.28
Christian Democratic People's Party	7.76
Social Democratic Party of Hungary	3.26
Entrepreneurs' Party	2.81
Agrarian Federation	2.15
Hungarian People's Party	1.4
Patriotic Electoral Coalition	1.2

None of the individual candidates in Pest County were able to win enough number of votes, thus voting will have to be repeated in all 16 individual constitutencies of the county.

Komarom-Esztergom, Baranya

LD2603195690 Budapest MTI in English 1728 GMT 26 Mar 90

["Election—Unofficial County Final Results"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, March 26 (MTI)—

Komarom-Esztergom County:

Alliance of Free Democrats	24.99
Hungarian Democratic Forum	22.14
Federation of Young Democrats	8.47
Independent Smallholders' Party	8.41
Hungarian Socialist Party	8.32
Christian Democratic People's Party	7.31
Entrepreneurs' Party	6.25
Social Democratic Party of Hungary	4.03
Agrarian Federation	3.21
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party	3.20
Independent Hungarian Democratic Party	2.0
Patriotic Electoral Coalition	.60

Voting will have to be repeated in all five individual constituencies of the county, as the candidates did not receive the sufficient majority of votes to enter parliament in any of the places.

Baranya County:

Alliance of Free Democrats	22.21
Hungarian Democratic Forum	20.18
Independent Smallholders' Party	16.28
Hungarian Socialist Party	9.22
Federation of Young Democrats	8.34
Agrarian Federation	6.63
Social Democratic Party of Hungary	5.69
Christian Democratic People's Party	5.26
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party	3.67
Patriotic Electoral Coalition	2.47

Szalbolcs-Szatamar-Berg, Bacs-Kiskun

LD2603200190 Budapest MTI in English 1755 GMT 26 Mar 90

["Elections—Unofficial County Final Results"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, March 26 (MTI)—

Szabolcs-Szatmar-Bereg County:

No single candidate received the sufficient number of votes to be able to enter parliament, thus the decision in all ten constituencies will be made in the course of the second round on April 8. Votes given for the regional lists of the parties, with the percentages:

Hungarian Democratic Forum	22.48
Alliance of Free Democrats 1	4.77
Independent Smallholders' Party	14.51
Hungarian Socialist Party	10.75
Christian Democratic People's Party	9.63
Federation of Young Democrats	8.47
Agrarian Federation	5.60
Entrepreneurs' Party	5.33
Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party	5.17
Patriotic Electoral Coalition	1.87
Hungarian People's Party	1.36

The Social Democratic Party of Hungary was unable to put up a regional list in Szabolcs County.

Bacs-Kiskun County:

Hungarian Democratic Forum	23.23
Alliance of Free Democrats	19.87
Independent Smallholders' Party	19.17
Hungarian Socialist Party	7.89
Federation of Young Democrats	7.35
Agrarian Federation	.81
Christian Democratic People's Party	4.66
Entrepreneurs' Party	4.34

The Social Democratic Party of Hungary, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Patriotic Electoral Coalition, and the Hungarian People's Party did not receive the 4 per cent necessary.

Jasz-Nagykun-Szolnok

LD2603194990 Budapest MTI in English 1703 GMT 26 Mar 90

["Elections—Unofficial County Final Results"—MTI headline]

[Text] Budapest, March 26 (MTI)—Jasz-Nagykun-Szolnik County:

Hungarian Democratic Forum	21.31
Independent Smallholders' Party	17.17
Alliance of Free Democrats	16.46
Hungarian Socialist Party	11.42
Federation of Young Democrats	8.4

Eleven parties put up regional lists in the county, the Hungarian People's Party finished at the end of the line with 2.39 per cent.

Vas County

LD2603144390 Budapest MTI in English 1358 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 26 (MTI)—Unofficial final election results for Vas County show the regional list is topped by the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] (30.03 per cent).

Following in order are the Hungarian Democratic Forum (23.76), the Christian Democratic People's Party (11.73), the Independent Smallholders' Party (9.79), the Hungarian Socialist Party (7.59), the Federation of Young Democrats (7.16), the Agrarian Federation (4.44), the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (2.82), the Patriotic Electoral Coalition (1.47), and the Hungarian People's Party (1.15).

In the county's individual constituencies, none of the candidates received enough votes for winning a mandate.

Final Results Reported From Six Counties

LD2603164690 Budapest MTI in English 1533 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 26 (MTI)—In Csongrad County two candidates received enough votes to become parliamentary MPs: Erno Raffay, candidate of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF—MDF], received 55.16 per cent of the votes, Zoltan Kiraly, an Independent candidate supported by the HDF, received 71.97 per cent of the votes.

The final order of the parties: Hungarian Democratic Forum (38.66 per cent), Independent Smallholders' Party (13.56), Alliance of Free Democrats (13.28), Hungarian Socialist Party (7.35), Federation of Young Democrats (6.0), Christian Democratic People's Party (4.65), Agrarian Federation (4.39), Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (3.94), Social Democratic Party of Hungary (3.02).

Final results in Nograd County: Hungarian Democratic Forum (18.33), Alliance of Free Democrats (17.40), Christian Democratic People's Party (15.50), Hungarian Socialist Party (10.96), Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (10.21).

Only the order of the parties was reported from Gyor-Sopron County, without percentages: 1. Alliance of Free Democrats, 2. Hungarian Democratic Forum, 3. Independent Smallholders' Party, 4. Christian Democratic People's Party, 5. Federation of Young Democrats, 6. Hungarian Socialist Party, 7. Social Democratic Party of Hungary, 8. Agrarian Federation, 9. Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, 10. Entrepreneurs' Party.

Final result in Veszprem County: Hungarian Democratic Forum (27.45 per cent), Alliance of Free Democrats (17.39), Independent Smallholders' Party (11.85), Federation of Young Democrats (10.99), Hungarian Socialist Party (9.13).

Final result in Somogy County: Independent Smallholders' Party (18.95), Hungarian Socialist Party (18.00), Hungarian Democratic Forum (16.38), Alliance of Free Democrats (15.71), Federation of Young Democrats (7.67), Agrarian Federation (4.72), Christian Coalition of Somogy (3.73), Social Democratic Party of Hungary (3.34), Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (3.13).

Final result in Bekes County: Hungarian Democratic Forum (23.85), Independent Smallholders' Party (21.87), Alliance of Free Democrats (17.62), Hungarian Socialist Party (10.21), Agrarian Federation (6.06), Federation of Young Democrats (5.79), Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (5.29), Social Democratic Party of Hungary (3.99), Green Party (2.12).

Final Results in Fejer, Tolna, Zala Counties

LD2603161990 Budapest MTI in English 1521 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 26 (MTI)—The final result in Fejer County:

1/ Alliance of Free Democrats (25.08 per cent), 2/ Hungarian Democratic Forum (24.31), 3/ Independent Smallholders' Party (12.45), 4/ Hungarian Socialist Party (10.00), 5/ Federation of Young Democrats (8.52), 6/ Social Democratic Party of Hungary (4.9), 7/ Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (3.56), 8/ Entrepreneurs' Party (3.54).

The final result in Tolna County:

1/ Hungarian Democratic Forum (19.92), 2/ Alliance of Free Democrats (18.56), 3/ Christian Democratic People's Party (13.49), 4/ Independent Smallholders' Party (12.88), 5/ Federation of Young Democrats (9.67), 6/ Hungarian Socialist Party (8.97), 7/ Agrarian Federation (4.18), 8/ Social Democratic Party of Hungary (3.41), 9/ Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (2.95).

The final result in Zala County:

1/ Hungarian Democratic Forum (25.41), 2/ Alliance of Free Democrats (20.89), 3/ Christian Democratic People's Party (11.01), 4/ Independent Smallholders' Party (10.28), 5/ Hungarian Socialist Party (9.61), 6/ Federation of Young Democrats (7.11), 7/ Patriotic Electoral Coalition (3.40), 8/ Agrarian Federation (3.29), 9/ Entrepreneurs' Party (2.99).

FKGP To Adhere to Land Reform Program

LD2703090890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0400 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] It is indisputable that we are advancing toward the peaks, only perhaps we are stopping for a short rest half-way, said Jozsef Torgyan, chief attorney of the FKGP [Independent Smallholders' Party]. The FKGP will not betray the peasants after the elections. They will maintain their position on the land law. In their opinion the FKGP can not be left out of any coalition, and they actually have the expert candidates for every ministerial post.

MDF Chairman on Coalition Possibilities

LD2703084190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] The Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF—MDF] regards the Independent Smallholders' Party as its primary coalition partner, but the Christian Democratic People's Party is a close second. Chairman Jozsef Antall did not rule out the HDF's willingness to cooperate with other parties. However, he would consider a grand coalition only if it were absolutely necessary.

SZDSZ Leader on Coalition Possibilities

LD2703082990 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] The Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] cannot imagine its participation in a coalition which would not include the FIZESZ [Federation of Young Democrats]. Acting party chairman Janos Kis considers a joint government possible with the Independent Smallholders' Party too. He also said that if his party or the Democratic Forum are not able to form a coalition with their natural allies, certainly there is enough sense of responsibility in both parties for them to act in accordance with the nation's interests.

Free Democrats Comment on Election Results

LD2603145590 Budapest MTI in English 1425 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 26 (MTI)—In the knowledge of the election results so far, Ivan Peto, executive of the Alliance of Free Democrats, told MTI's correspondent at Monday noon they feel the AFD has a chance for victory in consideration of all lists and individual constituencies.

Peto called it important for the parties not to spend the remaining time of trying to discredit other parties. As in the past, the Alliance of Free Democrats invariably wants to put into practice this basic principle in its future activity. On behalf of his party, Peto invited the Hungarian Democratic Forum for a public debate on television.

Ivan Peto said in conclusion that the parties should continue to jointly enforce their responsibility felt for the fate of Translyvanian Hungarians. He proposed that the parties which attained 4 per cent of the vote and will win a seat in parliament in two weeks' time should set about working out the related tasks as soon as possible.

Pozsgay on Election Results, Flights to Israel

LD2603193190 Budapest MTI in English 1743 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 26 (MTI)—Imre Pozsgay, member of the Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Party [HSP-MSZP], represented his party at the press conference of the HSP, held on Monday in the Budapest International Press Centre.

Answering questions, Mr Pozsgay was of the opinion that citizens kept the change the in system in view in the course of the elections, thus it is understandable that they voted for the most radical forces also in Sopron, and being better known was not what decided the outcome.

The Hungarian Socialist Party could finally find out, from the election result, how strong it is, and what strength the left-wing would need in parliament in order for a controlled power to come about. Mr Pozsgay added that the HSP did not fight to eliminate the one-party dictatorship so that a possible two-party dictatorship would prevail.

Mr Pozsgay said the HSP remains in the political arena as a left- centre party, and this puts great responsibility on the party.

A foreign journalist asked Mr Pozsgay whether, in his view, the charter flights of the Hungarian airline Malev to Israel will be restarted or not. According to Mr Pozsgay's information, Malev has re-examined its position and has found the way for the transit route to continue operation. Malev has received guarantees which disperse its fears, thus it will, in all probability, continue the flights.

MSZMP President Assesses Election Campaign

LD2603145490 Budapest MTI in English 1007 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 26 (MTI)—Gyula Thurmer, president of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (HSWP) [MSZMP], told newsmen that he is hopeful his party will become a parliamentary party.

Bearing in mind that the money required for the campaign was donated by the party's renewing membership and its sympathisers, the present partial results can be considered favourable, and the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] is still expecting a rise in the precentage of votes which would enable it to enter parliament.

Mr Thurmer went on to speak about the ebbing left-wing influence in the whole of East Europe, adding that when people will come face to face with uncertainty of existence, unemployment and accelerating inflation, they could start cooperating more closely with parties of the left-wing - in his view - with the Hungarian Socialist Party and the HSWP.

Elaborating on recent days' events in Tirgu Mures, leaders of the HSWP said they condemn any atrocities ethnic Hungarians were subjected to in Romania. They also stressed however that minority policy should at all times be free of nationalism.

Speaing about the 1956 events, leaders of the HSWP said that the October events suggested a renewal in Hungary, which however ended in a counter revolution by November.

Horn Briefs Press on Foreign, Local Issues

LD2603224190 Budapest MTI in English 2115 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 26 (MTI)—Foreign Minister Gyula Horn spoke with satisfaction about the election results of the Hungarian Socialist Party so far. Mr Horn visited the Budapest International Election Press Centre on Monday evening.

Commenting on the decision to suspend the transit travels of Jews emigrating from the Soviet Union via Budapest, the foreign minister noted: The Hungarian airlines Malev suspended the fulfillment of the agreement, this was not a government decision. All the same, the government now makes efforts to remedy the problem. The foreign minister did not discuss the details, in the interest of a 'positive settlement.'

Journalists mentioned the fact that the Trianon peace treaty is frequently discussed in Hungary nowadays. In this context, they wanted to know whether the official Hungarian policy plans some sort of revision of the peace treaty. In his brief historical survey, the foreign

minister recalled that the Trianon peace treaty, which was unjust for Hungary, strengthened the Paris peace treaty of 1947.

According to the official Hungarian position, there is no reality for any sort of revision of these peace treaties. At the same time, it must also be noted that the states participating in the treaties—mainly Romania—have not completely fulfilled their accepted obligations in ensuring the individual and collective rights of the Hungarian minority. These rights were not ensured to the Hungarians either by the royal Romanian, nor later by the Ceausescu regime. When Trianon is mentioned in Hungary, it is this basic problem that people think about.

Responsibility also falls on the great powers in settling the problem, as they should call to account how Romania fulfills the obligations it accepted.

With respect to the development of the Hungarian-Romanian relations, Mr Horn noted with regret that no progress has been made. Romania continues to uphold its position under which the Hungarians provoked the events in Tirgu Mures. Most recently, they state, outright, that Romanians are not to be blamed for setting fire to the Malev office in Bucharest. The Romanian side turns a deaf ear to all sorts of constructive cooperation, Mr Horn said. Adhering to its principal position, Hungary continues to call on the Romanian leadership to ensure lawful order in Romania, and to guarantee the safety of the citizens, and the foreigners working there.

Although the earlier, extremely tense situation has somewhat abated in Romania, there is no progress in solving the grave crisis. Summing up his views, the foreign minister was of the opinion that the current situation bears an eerie similarity to the conditions prior to the December turn.

In answer to question on his evaluation of the Lithuanian situation, Mr Horn reiterated the earlier formulated Hungarian position: The Lithuanian people have a right to self-determination, to autonomy, and winning independence through negotiations. But negotiations are the only passable road to this end, all other solutions would threaten with the destabilization of the Soviet Union, which could be the source of problems of world political significance. According to Mr Horn, there is hope for a peaceful solution in the debate between Moscow and Vilnius.

Horn on East Bloc, Hungarian Developments

AU2603105790 Vienna KURIER in German 26 Mar 90 p 3

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by Georg Berenyi in Budapest; date not given: "Hungary Is Looking for a Quick Path to Western Europe"]

[Text] He is the most successful man of the "old" government in Hungary: Foreign Minister Gyula Horn. These days Horn will receive a high reward from Bonn for his work to open the borders, which led to the GDR refugee wave and to the collapse of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] regime. In Budapest he agreed to give an exclusive interview to KURIER.

—On the future of the East Bloc: "Each of these countries will probably be looking for suitable partners, depending on the speed of its restructuring. The Italian initiative for a confederation with Austria, the CSSR, and Hungary seems promising to me. The 'Alps-Adriatic' integration could serve as a starting point for this. Such a group would not contradict the European process of unification."

—On Hungary's path to the West: "Hungary, which over the past two years has developed into a central European state, is mainly interested in the reexpansion of its contacts with Western Europe, which were severed 40 years ago. By the end of this year we would like to join the community of the 12 as an 'associate member,' and strive for full membership later on as some sort of 'EC satellite.'" All this while preserving the good relations with the superpower USSR—but on the basis of equal rights and free of any ideology."

—On Hungary's approach to Austria: "Our imagination has unlimited leeway in this respect. For instance, a duty-free zone on the Hungarian side of the border; or large-scale infrastructure projects, such as the Vienna-Budapest highway, the expansion of the railroad lines, etc. The times in which cross-border traffic will be possible without passports and formalities are not too far away. Nevertheless, we should harmonize our relations with the topical developments in Europe. The idea of a confederation—whether with more partners or just 'among ourselves'—does not seem absurd to me."

—On the danger of a destabilization of East Europe because of democratization: "We have to live with this danger—the main reason is the tense social and economic situation. Because one thing is clear: The changes can be carried out more quickly in the political system than in the economy, where they need years."

—On the danger of an overthrow of Kremlin chief Gorbachev: "Such a turnaround could seriously complicate our situation. Conservative forces at the helm in the USSR would probably try to regain influence on our sovereign policy. Even though a military intervention is hardly conceivable anymore, Gorbachev's success is in our very own interest."

Nyers Writes to Dubcek on Hungarian Minorities

AU2603131990 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 21 Mar p 5

[Unattributed report: "Rezso Nyers Sends Letter to Dubcek"]

[Text] [Hungarian Socialist Party Chairman] Rezso Nyers sent a letter to Alexander Dubcek on 17 March in which, among other things, said that the national minorities play an outstanding role in East Europe, including the relations between the two nations; their prosperity is our common responsibility.

"On our part, we intend to act in this spirit. At the same time, we would like to see that the Hungarian national minority in other countries—including Slovakia—receive full and institutional opportunities for exercising their political, cultural, and national minority rights. The coexistence between the majority and minority should not lead to confrontation and exclusion, because we know that this would damage one of the basic pillars of democracy. I ask you to closely follow events in this respect."

At the end of his letter, Rezso Nyers proposed the following: "Let us be co-initiators of an international meeting in which progressive representatives of countries affected in East-Central European cooperation would negotiate about possible ways, by overcoming party interests and serving the cause of their nation and of the pan-European concept."

ROK Science Minister Visits, Holds Talks

LD2403230690 Budapest MTI in English 1519 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 23 (MTI)—The tasks stemming from the Hungarian-Korean intergovernmental scientific and technical cooperation agreement and the possibilities of improving cooperation were the subject of talks Pak Seung-duk, deputy minister of science and technology of the Republic of Korea, had in Budapest from March 19 to 23 as head of a delegation.

The Korean deputy minister met Imre Szabo, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Industry, Peter Reiniger, deputy minister of industry, and Ferenc Marta, vice-president of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

Mr Pak visited Budapest University of Technology and discussed plans for setting up a Hungarian-Korean techno-scientific cooperation centre at the university.

Pak Seung-duk also met Ferenc Somogyi, undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Present at this meeting was Han Tak-chae, ambassador of the Republic of Korea to Hungary.

Government Issues Decree on Dollar Accounting

LD2603162890 Budapest MTI in English 1436 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 26, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian Government has set about creating the legal framework of a switch-over to hard currency accounting in Comecon trade.

A new government order decrees, that unless otherwise regulated in the relative inter-state or intergovernmental agreement, Hungarian companies may from now on conclude trade agreements exclusively in the currencies quoted by the National Bank of Hungary.

The move affects mainly trade with the Comecon [Council for Mutual Economic Assistance] countries and mainly cases where the bilateral trade and payments protocol does not expressly determine the volume of above-quota trade and is this is subject to the agreement of the parties concerned. Barter trade is one case in point, which works successfuly with all the European Comecon countries.

The measure marks a transitional stage, until all trade deals are accounted in hard currency.

Hungary and the Soviet Union have agreed to switch over to hard currency settlement by January 1, 1991, and most probably Czechoslovakia and Poland will quickly follow suit.

Education Minister Glatz Comments on Future Plans

AU2603120990 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Mar 90 p 5

[Report on interview with Education Minister Ferenc Glatz by Zsuzsa Szep; place and date not given: "I Am Telling You, I Do Not Deal With This"]

[Text] The countdown has begun, and the following question is topical on the eve of the elections: What will the current minister do after the expected government change? In our series, we publish today an interview with Ferenc Glatz.

Ferenc Glatz was reluctant to agree to give this interview and said that his political future is not important now. At the time of our request for an interview, his ministry submitted the modification of the constitutional law on education to Parliament. The first vote failed to secure the necessary two-thirds majority, and, therefore, the draft bill was not adopted; a bill that would give up the state monopoly on establishing schools and thus create the conditions for the establishment of private schools; a bill that would eliminate the party policy ideology from schools and increase the independence of schools and especially of universities, and which would open a legal way toward an alternative school system. Ferenc Glatz refused to answer any journalist's question in Parliament

on that day. The following day, Parliament voted again on the draft bill and finally accepted it with a 79 percent majority.

[Glatz] We had very little time to prepare the draft bill. We wanted to prepare a new education and higher education law. We would have been ready with it by springtime. However, the referendum carried out at the end of November 1989 showed that Parliament would function only for a short time. Thus, we modified our plans and, in order to start the new school year in a new way, we took it upon ourselves only to modify the old law. We worked at an accelerated pace. Unfortunately, this haste was also reflected in the preparatory coordination talks. In addition, there is a lack of readiness for consensus and agreement in society today. However, my colleagues traveled all over the country during this time and told us their experiences daily; new institutions have been emerging daily. Every association, federation, and party would like to coordinate everything, and this is impossible. From a tactical point of view, many people thought that it would have been more sensible not to present Parliament and the public at large with a proposal that affects everyone. Naturally, we also pondered whether it was worth changing the education law prior to the elections. Putting the tactical considerations aside, we came to the conclusion that we should accept the debate because of the new school year to begin in September. People are justified in criticizing the short time spent on preparing these modifications. It was impossible to calm everyone by saying that they should not be afraid of private kindergartens, private universities, church schools, school independence, and so on. We also emphasized, in vain, that cultural policy is a separate profession at the end of the 20th century, and a law dealing with educational affairs should be totally different in its nature from economic laws. A law provides opportunities, creates a framework, and ensures the possibility of choice for a society, rather than providing orders. The spirit of this law is like this, and it is a product of the liberal legislative concept. This law does not organize society, but promotes and supports a varied self-organization. Besides, I think in terms of liberal concepts both in historical and political issues. I do not only ask why, as the social scientist has been educated to do since the last century, but I also ask why not? Why could things not be different? Why not, if they do not violate the other's autonomy and independence. In my view, the future belongs to community-oriented free thinking. Naturally, I am not thinking in party policy terms now.

[Szep] You already attacked the dictatorial, educational, and political system in your "History" in the eighties. Obviously, you must have made a lot of ideological enemies among your friends in the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP].

[Glatz] Naturally, I was criticized for my opinion, but I accepted this criticism as one who believes in pluralism. Besides, you should not forget that in the eighties we had a so-called coalition one-party system within the one-party system. Many people fear today that the old political framework will disintegrate too quickly. Indeed, as a historian, I also think that too many loud forces, inexperienced in politics and in dealing with problems, are now coming to the fore. However, again as a historian, I should also note the fact that the most disorganized democracy is still better than the most organized dictatorship. I hope that a stable multiparty system will emerge after the initial stumbling. Today, I see the main danger in the possibility that the leading political parties want to rule the same way as the old single party did decades ago. However, the most dangerous thing is when one judges a law or a political step that affects an entire society and nation from the viewpoint of party tactics. There were people in Parliament who were aware of the fact that we needed this modification to the law and they even thought that the direction of advancement was positive; however, they voted against it.

[Szep] What are your plans for the period after the March elections?

[Glatz] I have not yet had time to deal with this. I have been an education minister for a very short time. A few months ago, we began dismantling the basic institutions of a Soviet-type cultural policy system. I am concentrating all my efforts on finishing certain projects and making sure that my successors are aware of the direction I envisaged for the change in the system. For me, an administrative task is also an intellectual and scientific issue. What will I do after the elections? My speeches are written by myself, and thus, I have accumulated some speeches for a volume which I hope will soon be published under the title: "The Dismantling of the Soviet Cultural Policy System." My book deals with the reevaluation of the central European cultural system and the elimination of the cultural policy systems characterized by control and central management. The current modification to the law is only one step in this activity.

[Szep] Still, would you be prepared to continue your activity as education minister?

[Glatz] I told you I am not dealing with this; in my view, cultural policy is a profession, a mission which one serves either from an administrative position or with a pen, by teaching, editing, and writing. Besides, the time has come for the parties to negotiate on ministries, and I am not a member of any party.

[Szep] What will you do next? I repeatedly asked this question, but the minister avoided an answer.

Polish-Lithuanian Border Traffic 'Normal'

LD2303223890 Warsaw PAP in English
1523 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Suwalki, March 23—Developments in Lithuania have not influenced the situation at the only border crossing between Poland and Lithuania in Ogrodniki-Lazdijai, Suwalki Voivodship, north-eastern Poland.

The road traffic is normal, increasing mostly during weekends. Over 700 cars and 2,726 persons crossed the border last Tuesday.

USSR Troops to Lithuanian Border Unconfirmed

LD2603195590 Warsaw PAP in English
1823 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 26—We know nothing about movements of Soviet troops stationing in Poland near the Polish-Lithuanian border. The spokesman for the Polish Government's plenipotentiary for the Soviet troops' stationing in Poland told PAP.

PAP asked this question in connection with rumours being spread in Warsaw about the movement.

Walesa Appeals for Negotiations in Lithuania

AU2703114490 Paris AFP in English
1126 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 27 (AFP)—Solidarity leader Lech Walesa appealed to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Tuesday to halt military pressure on Lithuania, urging him to negotiate with the leaders of the rebel republic.

In a message sent to Mr. Gorbachev, Mr. Walesa expressed grave concern over "Soviet activities" in Lithuania, which he said were "in total contradiction (with) the spirit of perestroyka," Mr. Gorbachev's reform programme.

"The violation of Lithuania's sovereignty undermines the process aimed at establishing a new order in Europe," Mr. Walesa said.

"The history of the Soviet Union and eastern Europe proves that using threats and force to solve political problems is discredited and condemned by international public opinion.

"I urge you, Mr. President, to cease the military pressure being brought to bear on Lithuania and open a dialogue with the Lithuanian government," said Mr. Walesa, who has praised Mr. Gorbachev for ending the communist monopoly on power and spearheading other reforms.

Bronislaw Geremek, the leader of Solidarity's group in parliament, went to Vilnius at the head of a delegation of Polish MPs and senators on Monday, but told the Solidarity newspaper GAZETA that he would not "act as a mediator" between Moscow and Lithuania.

But he added: "We're convinced that democratic Lithuania and the Soviet leadership will find a common language."

Meanwhile, GAZETA warned Tuesday that any use of force by the Soviet Union to quash Lithuania's independence movement would be condemned by Poland.

In an edition that went to press before Soviet soldiers seized young Red Army deserters and occupied the Lithuanian Communist Party headquarters in Vilnius in overnight raids, GAZETA said: "The use of 'radical' methods in Lithuania would mean that Moscow was returning to the old methods."

GAZETA made it clear that its sympathies lay with Lithuania, although it acknowledged that the republic's declaration of independence had put Soviet "reformers" in a "very difficult position".

It said Polish people were following developments in Lithuania with "emotion" and recognised the "rights and aspirations of the Lithuanian people".

Although there was little manoeuvring space either for the Lithuanians or Moscow, it said "one of the two will have to back down, which will not be easy".

Walesa Interview Summary Given on GDR TV

LD2603170290 East Berlin Television Service in German 1742 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Report on interview with Solidarity Trade Union Chairman Lech Walesa by unidentified "Aktuelle Kamera" reporter in Gdansk; date not given—recorded, in Polish with superimposed translation into German]

[Text] Taking into consideration the unpleasant experiences between the Germans and the Poles, Europe must create guarantees for good relations between both peoples. That was stated by Lech Walesa, Solidarity trade union chairman, to "Aktuelle Kamera" in Gdansk. In doing so, a destabilization of the continent must not arise, that would be a tragedy, said the trade union chairman. Walesa's words were: I am convinced that both peoples have understood that there were enough bad things between us and that now is the time to improve relations. I know that we will create such relations.

There were good opportunities for good-neighborly relations, he said. He trusted in the Germans' sense of reason that they had learned from history, he added.

Referring to the conference of six, Walesa said: Not only two plus four, but all of Europe and the superpowers bear the responsibility. In his opinion, the way the conference is composed is a technical matter—which is contrary to the government's position. The settling of such technical matters depends on how favorably discussions are held with each other, he said.

The Solidarity chairman advocated cooperation with the GDR trade union [FDGB]—without any conditions. Both sides, Solidarity as well as the FDGB, can gain nothing but good from it.

Mazowiecki 'Pleased' With Talks in Washington

LD2303103190 Warsaw PAP in English
2258 GMT 22 Mar 90

[By PAP correspondents Jerzy Gorski, Ryszard Piekarowicz]

[Text] Washington, March 22—Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki said today [22 March] at the end of his two-day talks with President Bush he was "very pleased" with the talks just like with the whole visit.

"There is an understanding here for the fact that Poland's position is particularly significant, both now and in the future," the Polish premier told newsmen after a 40-minute meeting with the U.S. President in the White House.

President Bush confirmed Tadeusz Mazowiecki's words in a special statement for the press issued less than an hour later.

The statement said the U.S. saw a significant role for a free, democratic and independent Poland as a factor of stability if future Europe.

The President confirmed the U.S. involvement in assistance aimed to cure the Polish economy and in Poland's march towards democracy and is to maintain close contacts and consultations on issues of mutual interest.

The President also said something which might mean he did not rule out Poland's participation in the Two-Plus-Four talks also in discussions on issues other than the border on the Odra and Nysa rivers, while replying to journalists questions.

Asked whether doubts and discrepancies of stances on Poland's participation in the Two-Plus-Four talks have been solved the Polish premier said "we will be present at whatever concerns us."

The U.S. President implied there were some slight discrepancies between the U.S. and Poland concerning the Polish postulate for the two German states to intial a treaty recognizing the Polish western border still before the unification of Germany.

Asked by newsmen about President Bush's reaction to the postulate of a treaty settlement of the question of borders Tadeusz Mazowiecki said: "I think the President understands our intentions, I presented these issues to the President."

Speaking on the same subject, President Bush said that as far as the treaty was concerned and the way Germany was to sign it with Poland he did not change his position that the Polish premier should discuss this issue with German leaders who covered a long way and were now very close (to the Polish position), much closer than might have been expected on the basis of statements made a month ago.

President Bush's statement implied that the U.S. would not be against the initialling by the FRG and the GDR of a treaty on recognizing the Polish western border but it did not want to exert pressure on Germans in this respect.

Asked whether the U.S. President expressed any fears in connection with the presence of Soviet troops in Poland the Polish premier said: "There are not any problems between us as far as this issue is concerned. Poland has already said she would start talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops."

Today's meeting of the two leaders was the third one after the one in the morning on Wednesday and at a dinner in the White House last night.

The problem of Soviet troops in Poland was also raised during President Bush's press conference. He implied that Poland should not be afraid of staying without Soviet troops in the face of a united Germany as that state would be within NATO and U.S. troops stationing in Europe would be a stabilizing force.

Asked on his opinion on statements by some Polish officials on the necessity to maintain Soviet troops in Poland President Bush said he believed there was no need for Soviet troops to remain in Eastern Europe and added that the faster they left it the better.

Later in the day Poland's prime minister paid a visit to the Arlington Military Cemetery where he laid a wreath at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

Mazowiecki also laid a bunch of white and red roses at the tomb of Ignacy Paderweski, Poland's premier in 1919, known for his love of independence, freedom and democracy.

The Polish premier said the Polish Government wanted Paderewski's ashes to come back to Poland as soon as possible.

In the afternoon Premier Mazowiecki met with leaders of the two houses of the U.S. Congress.

Mazowiecki Addresses N.Y. Polonia Representatives

LD2603170190 Warsaw PAP in English
1240 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] New York, March 26—Following is an abridged text of a speech delivered by Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki during a meeting with representatives of Polonia in New York on March 25:

My meetings with American Polonia can take place only as a result of processes and facts of crucial importance for Poland and her neighbours. The road which we had to travel was long and not an easy one. From the drama

of war and the nightmare of Stalinism, we held out to the phenomenon of the victory of Solidarity thanks to the resistence of Polish society.

Today, we are building a sovereign and democratic Poland. We are independently shaping our political, economic and economic system. The international situation and universal strive towards freedom in central and Eastern Europe is favourable for us as is the great tradition of our nation and the pontificate of John Paul II.

However I wish to stress with deep conviction, that we have achieved our successes also thanks to you and your support, thanks to your persistent demands for changes in Poland.

We are giving a new impulse to cooperation between Poland and Polonia. We are eliminating all restraints and limitations curbing this cooperation so far. We are building a new model in place of monopolistic assumptions and mechanism. A new organization has been founded. The Polish community association in place of the hitherto "Polonia" society.

The government is undertaking numerous legislative initiatives. Planned regulations aim first of all to secure maximum liberty in mutual travel, cultural and economic exchange. We want to pass new regulations concerning citizenship and passports to the satisfaction of the possibly largest group of our compatriots.

I wish to express hope, that our today's meeting, the atmosphere of spiritual and national community prevailing here, will determine the future of our ties and cooperation, that it will secure the unity of our goals and efforts. It is important to unite the forces of Polonia and be consistent in activities for the benefit of the emerging Polish lobby in the U.S. this is possible as it is evidenced by your frequently successful activities.

Mazowiecki Addresses U.S. Jewish Congress

LD2603181990 Warsaw PAP in English
1546 GMT 26 Mar 90

["Mazowiecki's Speech to American Jewish Congress (abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] New York, March 26—Relations between our nations have exceptional moral and historical dimensions. The Jews, living with us on one soil for almost one thousand years, have become an important part of our history, tradition and culture.

Among all countries in the world, Poland had been for a long time the first safe place for the Jews. In 1800, three-fourth of all Jews in the world lived on our territories.

Fifty years ago, shortly before the outbreak of the Second World War, three and a half million Jews belonged to the second largest diaspora. They became the main victims of the greatest crime in the history of mankind—the holocaust.

Six million Poles lost their lives during World War Two, with half of them being of Jewish origin. It was our common tragedy.

Nobody but our two nations are linked closer by suffering and this piercing feeling toward the Nazi perpetrators of those crimes—this was what people did to other people. With pain we must say that shortly after the war, Poland saw excesses and pogroms, and signs of anti-semitism.

It coincided with the involvement of people of Jewish origin in the communist apparatus of coercion. This does not justify anything but explains something connected with those times. Anti-semitic slogans were used by a certain group of the Communist Party once again in March 1968, when campaigns against Zionists were imposed.

I belong to Catholic milieus which dissociated themselves from this at the moment and which paid for this. Now, 22 years after these developments, we are crossing out the compulsion used at that time to make Poles of Jewish origin leave Poland.

Poland has been transforming into a democratic country and the condemnation of these developments has not been only voiced by particular social milieus as such is the official stance of the government and the parliament.

We are condemning anti-semitism and we are sorry for attempts to arouse hatred against Jews. The examples of which were the developments of March 1968 and the U.N. resolution which identified Zionism with Racism. We express readiness to reinstate the Polish citizenship to all those who were then forced to leave Poland.

After 23 years we restored diplomatic relations with Israel. A moment has come to make a breakthrough in relations between Poles and Jews. We are building them on truth. Let us not embellish anything but let us try not to repeat wrongful stereotypes and ponder endlessly over mutual wrongs and faults either.

Let us build them reaching to values that are stemming from a common Judaic and Christian source and to the best patterns of our one-thousand-year long history. Let us build them here in the U.S. and also in Poland to which I sincerely invite those who once left and those for whom it is only a place—a symbol of Jewish past.

Poland will not avoid today a humanitarian aid for Jewish emigrants from the Soviet Union.

Foreign Minister Skubiszewski Arrives in Portugal

LD2403000590 Warsaw PAP in English 2225 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Lisbon, March 23—The Council of Ministers of the Council of Europe started an extraordinary session here today.

The second day of the debates will be attended by special guests, including Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, and foreign ministers of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Hungary, the Soviet Union (vice-minister) and an observer from the GDR.

Minister Skubiszewski arrived here today directly from the parliamentary assembly of the Western European Union (WEU). In his tomorrow's speech Minister Skubiszewski will present Poland's stance on security and cooperation in Europe and Poland's membership in the Council of Europe. The Polish Foreign minister also intends to elaborate on Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's proposal to form a council for European cooperation.

Trade Minister Mackiewicz Visits Turkey

WA2603143090

For reportage on the visit by Domestic Trade Minister Aleksander Mackiewicz to Turkey, including reports on his talks with business leaders, please see the Turkey section of the 26 March West Europe DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

SdRP Statement on Workers Publishing Cooperative

AU2303153090 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 19 Mar 90 p 3

["Declaration" issued by the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic on the Workers Publishing Cooperative; place and date not given]

[Text] Further on the statement issued by the management board of the Workers Publishing Cooperative [RSW] stating that it is not competent to make any decisions concerning RSW property and activity—decisions in these matters belong to RSW's Supervisory Council and the General Meeting of the cooperative—the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP], as a shareholder of RSW wishes to make a declaration on the matter of the changes to and property adjustments within the RSW, which the SdRP is ready to present at the next General Meeting of the RSW.

The acceptance of the propositions set out below would not only signify the creation of the necessary preconditions for the continuing existence of all RSW shareholders, reform of the cooperative, but it would also imply the solution of all RSW's property problems in accordance with the law and society's expectations.

Deciding to make further sweeping concessions (after the earlier declarations of the SdRP's Supreme Council and the RSW's Supervisory Council), the SdRP proposes to surrender and to retain the following properties:

The Printing Division

A) To surrender:

—68 printing works—68 percent;

B) To retain:

—8 printing works (plus 2 in the stage of construction);

The Distribution and Trading Division

A) To surrender:

—992,952 square meters of land (79 percent);

—288,177 square meters of offices and other properties (59.3 percent);

—20,488 "Ruch" newspaper kiosks (91.2 percent);

—The Distribution Division center;

—The "Ars Polonia" foreign trade center;

—The armed forces press distribution center;

—The trade headquarters;

—"Ruch" State Bureau for Publishing and for Circulation of Publications;

B) To retain:

—The property of RSW "Prasa" transferred to "Ruch" before 1950 and then transferred along with "Ruch" to the Ministry of Communications;

—2,000 kiosks;

—18 voivodship dispatch centers—total area 5,000 square meters;

—96 International Press and Book Club centers;

—Property built by RSW on RSW owned land—40,749 square meters;

—"Pexim" foreign trade enterprise formed by RSW in 1988;

Press Division

1) Dailies:

In January 1989, RSW published 44 newspapers classified as dailies. It is proposed that:

—RSW surrenders 25 dailies (four are nationals);

—RSW retains 19 newspapers (four are nationals);

2) Voivodship weeklies:

RSW publishes 30 voivodship weeklies. It is proposed that:

—RSW surrenders 17 titles;

—RSW retains 13 titles;

3) In January 1989, RSW published 86 national periodicals. It is proposed that:

—RSW surrenders 52 periodicals;

—RSW retains 34 periodicals.

After the proposed changes, 94 titles would be surrendered by the RSW.

Press Agencies and Book Publishing Division

A) To surrender:

—The Polish Press Agency INTERPRESS;

—The Central Photographic Agency;

—Half the property of Book and Knowledge [KiW] publishing;

B) To retain:

—The National Publishing Agency;

—The Youth Publishing Agency;

—The SZTANDAR MLODYCH Printing House;

—The Lesser Poland Press Printing House;

—The UNIA-PRESS press agency.

Remaining Divisions

A) To surrender:

—Three wood processing factories (100 percent) in Chojnice, Nowe Miasto Lubawskie, and Swiebodzin;

—A telecommunications factory;

—A refurbishing-construction enterprise;

—The Journalist's House in Zaborow (administered by RSW);

—The "Horyzont" recreation and holiday center;

B) To retain:

Those properties owned by RSW that stand on RSW owned land or that were built by RSW:

—A supply center in Warsaw;

—A transport depot in Warsaw;

—A recreation center in Kazimierz nad Wisla;

—A recreation center in Rabka.

PZPR Publishing Concern Liquidated

LD2203103390 Warsaw PAP in English 2147 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 22—After a stormy debate here today the Polish Sejm (lower house) passed a law on the liquidation of the RSW Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch publishing cooperative, thus putting an end to the domination of the concern set up by the former PUWP (Polish United Workers' Party) [PZPR]. So far the concern had more than 90 percent of the circulation of the Polish press.

Deputies of the Parliamentary Club of the Democratic Left (PKLD) who protested against the RSW liquidation accused the parliamentary majority of violating the law and described the way of passing the as new Bolshevism.

Deputies of the Citizens' Parliamentary Caucus (OKP) and of the Democratic Party replied that the assets of the concern were acquired to a great extent as a result of the appropriation of the property of other political parties.

The Sejm also passed resolutions on the Katyn crime and on Lithuania.

Also today, the deputies discused draft laws connected with the future local self-government and passed amendments to the law on prosecutor's office.

Social Democracy Forms Parliamentary Floor Group

LD2403114490 Warsaw PAP in English 1400 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 23—Sejm deputies of the Union of Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland, who so far formed a circle within the framework of the parliamentary floor group of the Democratic Left, set up their own independent Sejm floor group of the Union of Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland.

The new floor group has thirty-four members, PAP learnt.

Polish-Soviet Trade Protocol Signed

AU2603101790 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 20 Mar 90 p 2

[Anna Sielanko report: "A Break in the Deadlock"]

[Text] On Monday afternoon, at Warsaw's Okecie Airport, several minutes before the departure of the Soviet delegation, the "1990 Protocol on Trade Turnover and Payments Between Poland and the Soviet Union" was signed. This document was signed for Poland by Marcin Swiecicki, minister for foreign economic cooperation; and for the Soviet Union by Konstantin Katushev, minister of foreign economic relations.

The signing of this protocol was preceded by difficult two-day talks between the two delegations. As late as Monday afternoon, it seemed that no agreement would be reached over the protocol, because there were major

differences between the delegations, and difficulties in reaching a joint stance. The deadlock in the talks was only broken when the Soviet delegation paid a call on Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki.

"The signing of the 1990 trade protocol is a very important matter, because it opens up the possibility of economic contacts, and permits the conclusion of specific contracts and agreements between enterprises," said Minister M. Swiecicki. "Enterprises have been waiting impatiently for this moment, because it clarifies the 1990 financial situation of many firms, especially those that specialize in exports to the USSR."

However, both ministers admitted that the trade protocol is only the first step on the road to establishing the principles of future cooperation between the two countries.

The question of past financial settlements, with Poland's consequent ruble debts, is an enormous problem that has not been solved yet. At present, Poland owes about 5 billion rubles. However, in previous years, projects in the USSR performed by Polish firms were settled up on the basis of world prices. The costs of building work were undervalued. The actual costs incurred by Polish enterprises were about three times higher than the value attached to their work. The prices we paid for oil from the USSR were also higher than world prices. So we do not know who is the real debtor.

The next round of talks will take place in Moscow in two weeks time. The Polish side will attempt to increase exports of machinery and equipment to the USSR. However, the main topic of these talks will be something of key importance for the future of Polish-USSR economic relations—the transfer to a new, market-based model of cooperation and a new system of financial settlements, this time in convertible currency and on the basis of current world prices. The protocol foresees that about 10-15 percent of this year's trade will take place according to the abovementioned principles, in other words in dollars, on the basis of current world prices.

Government, Solidarity Discuss Privatization

AU2603143290 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 22 Mar 90

['WZ'-signed report: "Accelerating Privatization"]

[Text] "The government is on the verge of strangling inflation, but it seems helpless in the face of the crisis in production. This could increase unemployment and further reduce the standard of living. We consider it essential to speed up privatization. That is our primary task," said Michal Boni on Wednesday [21 March], prior to talks between members of the "Solidarity" National Commission and the government.

Apart from Boni and Tomasz Stankiewicz, the National Commission's economic adviser, the "Solidarity" delegation included Jacek Merkel, Stefan Jurczak, and Edward Radziewicz. The government was represented by Deputy Premier Leszek Balcerowicz and Ministers Jacek Kuron, Krzysztof Lis, and Tadeusz Syryjczyk.

The trade unionists voiced concrete proposals, which included the conviction that the process of privatization should not be under the supervision of any single government agency. We read in the "Solidarity" stance prepared before the meeting: "There is nothing to stop private firms and banks from supervising privatization. As a fee for this service, they would receive a percentage of the value of the enterprises sold to private hands. Therefore, they would be eager to sell enterprises not just for high prices, but also to sell many of them and to do so quickly. One can also foresee the emergence of private banks which would buy weak enterprises, set them on their feet, and then sell them at a higher price, as is the practice in the West and Hungary."

Other ideas which the "Solidarity" side suggested to the government were:

—A faster return of assets to their original owners;
—The issue of vouchers entitling every citizen to receive free of charge a certain proportion of the shares of privatized enterprises;
—Fast mass auctions of small state assets;
—Providing shares as part of wage packets;
—Bank loans on favorable terms and tax concessions for purchasers of securities.

During the meeting, the "Solidarity" side spoke of the need to gain society's acceptance of privatization. The question of controlling the changes of ownership in the economy resurfaced, whereby the "Solidarity" side recalled the idea of setting up a council for national assets.

The next part of the meeting took place behind closed doors. It discussed the index-linking of wages, tax on supernumerary wages, and a minimum wage level. The "Solidarity" side demanded that a minimum wage level be guaranteed, and that it be reviewed every quarter.

The "Solidarity" side agreed that the minimum wage should be related to the poverty line, and should amount to 42-45 percent of the average wages in the "five sectors of material production." Minister Kuron suggested 35 percent as a possible figure. The talks will be continue.

Kwasniewski, Fiszbach View Future of Left

Kwasniewski Views Prospects

PM2203163990 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 3 Feb 90 p 6

[Interview with Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic Supreme Council, by POLITYKA reporter Marian Turski; place and date not given]

[Text] [Turski] As someone put it metaphorically, delegates [to PZPR dissolution congress] left the Congress

Hall by two separate doors. Were you surprised yourself by the emergence of the two political groups?

[Kwasniewski] The unity of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] had been held together artificially for years and it had to come apart as it did then. But I regret that it came apart at the very beginning of our proceedings—I am thinking of the setting up of the Union—and prior to the debate on the substance of the matter. There were in fact three doors by which the delegates left. The social democratic, centrist majority remained in the hall but, apart from those who chose the Union [Social Democratic Union of the Polish Republic, USDRP], some 300 persons who also left the hall hailed from groups which either wanted more time to think things over or could not accept social democracy and decided that their continued presence in the congress hall would be a misunderstanding.

[Turski] What do you think about the possibility of overcoming the aversions and animosities between rival trends in the workers' social democratic movement right at the very outset? Is there a chance of a shared platform being created right now?

[Kwasniewski] This would be very difficult. We are usually less tolerant of people whom we know more, whereas we tend to give more credit of confidence to people whom we know less well. But I would like to believe that we on the Left can come to an arrangement together.

It would be an unfortunate development if we were to hold a contest over who has cleaner hands and is more credible. The political truth is such that these new forces are generated among people who were connected with the PZPR and it is very hard to decide who already deserves to be called a social democrat and who does not without making a very thorough and at the same time highly subjective appraisal of every individual person's biography. I think we should show a maximum of tolerance and understanding, but at the same time we should draw up—either together or each group separately—certain principles that can on no account be breached. I am also concerned about the fact that many people are giving up their own beliefs for the sake of belonging to a group, as if acting on some kind of herd instinct... But let me answer your question: We must be prepared for dialogue across the entire left-wing configuration. Not only with Fiszbach's group but also with Lipski's Polish Socialist Party [PPS] and with other socialist groups, and also with those who left the party earlier, such as the activists from the horizontal structures of 1980-81: We now know they were right. We must conduct the dialogue with left-wing groups that today inhabit the massive Solidarity bloc.

[Turski] How would you define the objective of such dialogue?

[Kwasniewski] It is certainly not a struggle for power—and will probably not be so for a very long time. In the first place, we will be involved in a defense of ideological and social values, and the values of the system, which the left-wing orientation considers highly worthwhile; values which may come under threat if the left becomes weakened.

[Turski] A question which is asked quite often and which ties in with the issue of credibility is whether the new party, the SdRP [Social Democracy of the Polish Republic], will not repeat the PZPR's mistakes.

[Kwasniewski] From its very inception the PZPR was the ruling party, the sole party, the party which commanded supreme, unlimited, and abused power. The party which is beginning its life now is encountering considerable hostility and mistrust from the public, even aggression—to mention the attempts to set fire to party buildings. It finds no particular support or protection from its "neighbor" parties: It is not privileged and does not share in any privileges, either. These conditions should ensure the purity of intention and principle among the people who prove themselves determined to be active in our party. I believe that this will make the public look at the party with different eyes.

[Turski] Objections which have been raised so far mention the fact that a lot of people in the SdRP can boast only a very short apprenticeship in social democracy.

[Kwasniewski] The thermometer has not yet been invented that will unerringly demonstrate whether any given person is already a social democrat or has not reached that stage yet. Besides, the experience of the PZPR predecessors demonstrated that this kind of investigation leads straight to the development of sectarianism and marginality. Finally, the wisdom of every new movement lies not in attempting to gather around it those who are already convinced, but rather in trying to attract those who are still undecided and who hesitate as they seek the way...

[Turski] Was this the experience of Solidarity?

[Kwasniewski] Yes. Solidarity did not ask for people's affiliations. It could rise above individual personal experience and seek out a new variety of people and ideas. We should build our social democratic party in the same way.

[Turski] Do you think that the difference between your party and the Union lies in your respective attitudes to Mazowiecki's government?

[Kwasniewski] My view is as follows: Today, in our concrete economic situation, no sensible and prudent political power can fail to give its support to Mazowiecki's government. It may be that my opinion will not find favor with many people. Today the interest of the state must be put before and above all particular interests. A broad-fronted coalition and the support it will give to this government are crucial elements here. It will be a long time before a left-wing government can be considered a realistic alternative to Mazowiecki's government. The only alternative can be a much more

right-wing-oriented, authoritarian government. This is why in this difficult period of economic and political transformations the present government should be given the support of all left-wing forces and why—among other things, thanks to this support and the awareness that we are behind it—it should try to moderate and stabilize social moods and attitudes. Because I do not believe that the danger of anarchy taking over in our public life is merely imaginary or belonging solely to the realm of propaganda.

[Turski] Thank you for talking to us.

Fiszbach Discusses Problems

PM2203165590 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 3 Feb 90 p 6

[Interview with Tadeusz Fiszbach, leader of Social Democratic Union of the Polish Republic, by POLITYKA reporter Marian Turski; place and date not given]

[Text] [Turski] Mr. Speaker, we already have two separate parties formed by delegates of the former PZPR. In the past there were also a number of different orientations and divisions. This is not tragic in itself. It was tragic, however, when related political orientations fought tooth and nail against one another and encouraged mutual animosities. Do you think we can now move forward and skip the stage of mutual animosity? Can we now begin to concentrate on seeking a common denominator?

[Fiszbach] Such opportunities are always there. But we must start from certain definite values and principles, both ideological and political. When you saw people who in the past declared themselves as communists and demonstrated this by their words, ideas, and actions, and others who were socialists or social democrats, all joining the same party at the congress, did it not make you wonder how these things could be reconciled? To be a communist in a social democratic party? Having anticipated and feared such a situation in advance, I made my stand known at a much earlier time: I declared publicly that I would not join such an all-enveloping party. Consequently, I did not even enter the hall where the founding congress began its proceedings. What was to be done then? A group of parliamentary deputies and other delegates, including representatives of the 8 July Movement, reacted spontaneously to the development of events and insisted that we should give an organizational framework to the social democratic movement. Consequently, I found myself in the so-called Warsaw Hall, next door to the Congress Hall, in the company of people who share a firm belief in their identity as social democrats of yesterday, today, and tomorrow.

[Turski] Taking stock of your followers in Warsaw Hall, I saw people of widely differing backgrounds. This suggests that you do not ask where people come from but what they bring with themselves and what they want to do now.

[Fiszbach] This is certainly true. It involves the question of credibility. After all, the public will judge a party not by its motives and intentions but by the attitudes and effects of political activity of the party as a whole.

[Turski] Don't you think that the most important thing today is the hopes and aspirations we can set for the young generation—the young people who found themselves in either of the two halls and who are facing tremendous tasks as well as difficult problems and perhaps considerable dangers? Perhaps in view of these hopes we should, despite yesterday's division, today begin to look for a common platform of understanding and joint effort?

[Fiszbach] We certainly should look for it, but first of all, now is the time for finding our identity. The differences do not lie in our respective programs, since for a long time many of us took an active part in the preparation of the program which was approved in the main hall (by the SdRP), although I have not seen the final version of the document. The differences lie in the fact that we do not want to find ourselves sharing the same party with people who represent diametrically opposed options.

[Turski] Don't you believe that from the psychological viewpoint we can understand all those people who had associated their lives with the left-wing orientation and do not want to be ousted from that camp now?

[Fiszbach] We, in the Union, want to begin the construction work on our new group from the foundations, from the people, from the lowest cells, and to convene a congress which will determine a power structure within the party only at a later date. Given this formula of our movement, we could not begin by calling a congress. For the time being we have presented a declaration of our intentions. After our party base has proposed a program, we will be able to define the differences.

[Turski] I assume you will agree with the thesis that Poland needs a strong left now more than ever—a left which could offer a counterbalancing force to the very obvious pressure which the right is exerting on all aspects of life today. Do you already have a concept of a bridge that could span the chasm separating us from those whom we may dislike and with whom we may differ in our approach, but with whom we should share a common denominator?

[Fiszbach] I believe that today there is no precisely defined distinction between the left and the right. Divisions are only beginning to form and emerge within the political melting pot. Yes, we should be building such bridges, although in the case of certain orientations these will be no more than single planks. The Union will be open to cooperation. The binding agent should be provided by the common interest of the working people, interpreted not only in terms of a social welfare and protection system, but also in terms of provision of satisfactory working conditions, both for the workers

and the intelligentsia, since the latter has suffered progressive pauperization as a result of a deliberate destructive policy. But I am also well aware of the potential differences. For example, in the attitude to Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government. To stand in opposition to this government would be a political misunderstanding today. On the other hand, winning a place in the composition of the governmental coalition would give us an opportunity to adjust the direction of the government program from the left-wing angle.

[Turski] How many years—or generations—do you think it will take before the Polish left can aspire again to assume leadership of people's hearts and minds?

[Fiszbach] I do not believe it will happen in two or three years. It will probably take quite a long time. Party credibility is a derivative of party identity, and we are only beginning to put our identity together now. In the past we often used the terms: "the party of the Polish left" or "Polish workers' party." But the series of crises in the years 1956, 1968, 1970, and 1980 indicated that the party failed to fully represent the interests of the workers or the intelligentsia. This is why the opposition reached for the leadership of people's herts and minds.

[Turski] Do you see a possibility of preserving a joint platform of the Deputies' Parliamentary Club—until yesterday the PZPR Parliamentary Club?

[Fiszbach] Even before the congress, deputies-members of the Club declared themselves in favor of preserving the formula that would make it possible to represent all the platforms of the left-wing orientation. The Club has demonstrated its maturity and integrity. I am optimistic about the future of this matter. I believe it should be left entirely in the Club's hands.

[Turski] Thank you for talking to us.

Deputy on Split of Citizen's Parliamentary Club

AU2303133390 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 20 Mar 90 p 2

[Interview with Sejm Deputy Andrzej Kern of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club by Ewa Kluczkowska; place and date not given: "The Citizens' Parliamentary Club Should Split Up"]

[Text] [Kluczkowska] Don't you think that a split of the Citizens' Parliamentary Club [OKP] is essential in order to shape a genuinely pluralistic political landscape in Poland?

[Kern] First of all, I would like to explain that the reason why I have agreed to give an interview to TRYBUNA is Adam Michnik. Problems requiring careful and calm solutions had been building up inside the OKP, and the almost conspiratorial OKP session at the beginning of February was supposed to solve them. We were supposed to discuss our mutual grievances, reach agreements, and communicate them to the public. But Mr. Michnik broke the agreement by publishing in GAZETA WYBORCZA his article called "Let Us Postpone the Split," in which he discussed the meeting in a biased way. In view of that, I no longer feel bound by any agreement.

[Kluczkowska] But getting back to the question...

[Kern] Of course the split of the OKP is necessary. After all, the OKP was created for a specific purpose—to win the elections, break the political monopoly of the Polish United Workers' Party [PZPR], and democratize sociopolitical life in Poland. These objectives have already been achieved, and thus the OKP's raison d'etre is somewhat eroded. Lech Walesa has a similar opinion. He wants to reveal the pluralistic divisions within our club.

[Kluczkowska] When do you think the OKP should formally split?

[Kern] It already is split, though not in a physical sense. Many of my colleagues want the club to remain in its present form for some time yet, provided that its leadership permits all the political trends that have clearly emerged inside it to speak with an open voice.

[Kluczkowska] In that case, what will the OKP become?

[Kern] At present, we have a group that is considered to be secular and left wing, though it does not admit to that label. I do not think there are any purely right-wing groups in the OKP. But there is a democratic right wing, strong agrarian groups, groups that can be considered democratic but which contain a mixture of Christian democrats and liberals, and groups that are strictly centrist, to which I belong. The strongest of the groups inside the OKP so far is Economic Action, which contains the forces that I described as liberal and democratic. Sixty deputies have formally joined Economic Action, but only about 30 take active part in its work.

[Kluczkowska] Parties as such are not too popular in our society. In that case, do you think pluralism without political parties is possible in Poland?

[Kern] No. Without clearly defined parties, it is impossible. An absence of pluralism could lead to another monopoly, which a certain group inside the OKP would like to achieve. That is why this idea is being opposed. In principle, the members of our club have adopted a unanimous position against Mr. Michnik's concept, which contains a hidden desire for monopoly. By applying the "Solidarity" label to the most varied streams, he wants to subordinate them to specific political concepts. In fact, the only person who spoke out in favor of this concept at the aforementioned meeting was Adam Michnik.

[Kluczkowska] You are an advocate of the center. What does that mean?

[Kern] An example of centrist philosophy is what my party, the Union of Free Democrats, has recently worked out together with the Democracy 90 group, which has just emerged from the Democratic Party, and the

activity we undertook at the Democratic Forum with the intention of setting up parties of free democrats. The principles of democracy are always in effect, whether we are in power or in opposition. We always respect the principle of audiatur et altera pars (one must always hear the other side). We treat the political adversary as a man of good will until facts reveal otherwise. We shun hatred, which often develops into fanaticism in the presentation of one's own views. We oppose and combat monopolies in all their forms. We believe that world outlook is the private business of everyone, and should not be a slogan of any political group. Those are a few centrist principles.

[Kluczkowska] Would you not fight communists?

[Kern] My Union of Free Democrats, which has been in opposition for 30 years, has always recognized the right of others to hold their own views. However, we firmly combated the totalitarian monopoly of the communist authorities. A monopoly in any shape is dangerous and leads to distortions. To be honest, I do not know why some "Solidarity" people who are aiming toward a monopoly fail to realize that they may meet the fate of the PZPR sooner or later.

[Kluczkowska] So pluralism is necessary as a counterweight to these dangers?

[Kern] Of course. That is a most constructive factor, one that builds, not divides.

[Kluczkowska] Do you see room for the left wing in that pluralism?

[Kern] Although the left wing is our political adversary, we respect its views and are ready for dialogue. In a diversified political landscape, there is also room for the left wing.

[Kluczkowska] Will the OKP proceed to the next parliamentary elections as a single force?

[Kern] I do not think so. People in our club are talking about the next parliamentary elections with increasing frequency, and there is increasing mention of next year as a possible date. Some people talk of the middle of next year, others mention autumn, but no one is dismissing these elections, and everyone is gradually accepting the eventuality.

Several Thousand Stage Anticommunist Rally

AU2503164190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1543 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 25/3/1990—Several thousands of people took part Sunday, 25 March, in a meeting organized in Unirea Square of Bucharest by the Independent Group for Democracy.

The crowd was addressed from a truck equipped with sound devices by Ioan Ratiu, president of the World Union of Free Romanians, representatives of the Group for Social Dialogue, of the 15 November Association of Brasov, the People's Alliance Association, the Independent Group for Democracy, the Free Trade Unions and the Romanian Television.

They expressed their solidarity with the spirit and ideas of the proclamation of Timisoara, condemned the tragic events that took place in Tirgu Mures and other settlements in Transylvania a few days ago, and protested against the lack of consistency shown by the state bodies and the government in settling the problems, which led to the tragic inter-ethnic confrontations in Tirgu Mures.

During the meeting the participants shouted anticommunist slogans blamed the mistakes made by some mass media and chanted the names of the cities of Timisoara, Tirgu Mures and Brasov.

The meeting was peaceful.

Call for Understanding Issued in Cluj

AU2303123090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] The representatives of Vatra Romaneasca of Cluj County and of the Cluj County branch of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania have asked all residents of the City and County of Cluj to observe conduct rules that are unanimously accepted by civilized societies in Europe.

They affirm their desire to contribute effectively to ensuring equal rights for all the citizens of our homeland and oppose any acts of violence.

We believe that it is imperative to objectively clarify how these serious acts of hooliganism were committed in some localities in the country and to publicly expose and bring to trial all instigators, organizations, and participants in these acts. In order to establish genuine democracy, more than ever before Romania needs an atmosphere of calm and understanding. We believe that the only way to solve any differences is through dialogue.

For this purpose, we are determined to continue bilateral discussions to achieve better understanding of each side's position, and especially to ensure education—of all grades—in the mother tongue and the correct information of public opinion through mass media and cultural events.

In all these areas and during negotiations we will have an attitude of loyalty, goodwill, and correctness—the only way to ensure real chances for understanding and for settling conflicts.

This statement was sent to ROMPRES agency for publication. It also mentions that this statement is shared by the Hungarian-Romanian Democratic Association in Cluj.

Article Blames Communists for Tirgu Mures Events

AU2303155290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1419 GMT 23 Mar 90

["Transylvania—'The Communist Tradition Doesn't Contradict Itself'"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/3/1990—In an article under the above heading, the daily DREPTATEA of the Christian and Democratic National Peasants' Party considers the "remarkable" RCP [Romanian Communist Party] members who "have promoted an antinational policy after the December revolution as well" to be guilty of what is happrening in Mures, Harghita and Covasna County. "In consideration of the particularly serious acts committed by the chauvinistic Magyar extremists," shows the author of the article, Serban Popa they have pursued a conciliationist (not conciliatory) policy of minimizing and procrastinating the measures needed to calm down the spirits and to impose the observance of laws." The author mentions several facts after December 1989 in relation to which "the government has not undertaken any measure conducive to ending the state of tension." "Once again the mass media under the communist control—the television and radio stations—concealed most of the truth to serve alien interests which have nothing in common with the Romanian nation."

Accusing the former National Salvation Front Council to have brought workers and students, intellectuals and peasants to feud, DREPTATEA holds the view that "it would be fatal for them to apply the same recipe to minorities" ("a policy used with good results by the communist leaders over 1945-1950", it specifies), urging that now, when Romania's existence is in question, "the communist leaders, so blotted by their deeds, should no longer be let to decide this people's destinies."

Roman Discusses Situation in Transylvania

AU2303170390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] In connection with the events in Tirgu Mures, Prime Minister Petre Roman told French television that during the incidents three people died, two as a result of scuffling, and the third one died in a car accident outside the town. At the moment, there are about 300 injured, 36 of whom are hospitalized, with rather serious injuries.

Now in Romania, said Mr. Petre Roman, both Romanians and Romanian citizens of Hungarian origin agree

to say that the climate of violence was generated and maintained artificially and it was a manipulation by extremist elements. Certainly, now it is our duty to clarify the situation and arrest and then hand over to the legal bodies all those who are guilty of those actions. At the same time, we assume responsibility for maintaining calm.

Transylvania has always been the cradle of the Romanian nation and the Romanian nation was virtually born in Transylvania. The Dacians together with the Romans, who came later, formed a nation precisely here in Transylvania. Therefore, Transylvania has always been a region where the Romanians have been the majority even if Hungarians, just as other people, passed through this region and some even settled here, throughout the history. The fact that we are able to carry out a dialogue and negotiations with the Hungarian community to satisfy their legitimate claims regarding their intellectual activity, in the field of culture or education, is part and parcel of the efforts that we make in the democratization process, said Prime Minister Petre Roman.

Journalist Blames Ciontea, Domokos for Events

AU2303181690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1707 GMT 23 Mar 90

["Transylvania: EXPRES Accuses"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 23/3/1990—Journalist Nicolae Cristache publicly accuses (in EXPRES of 23 March) Radu Ciontea, provisional president of the "Vatra Romaneasca" Union, and Domokos Geza, president of the Provisional Executive Committee of the Hungarian Democratic Union "to have engaged in a risky game on the pain of a traumatized nation and to have subordinated the interests of the revolution and democracy in Romania to nationalistic pride". Their confrontation, their way of thinking, says Nicolae Cristache, brought the devastating madness of Tirgu Mures, where the "Vatra Romaneasca" 's answer to the Hungarian Democratic Union's defiance was a counterdemonstration which was a true measure of the ambitions but also of the limitations of its leaders".

Noting the connivance in which Romanians and Hungarians took action in that city against the historical parties and the Hungarian Democratic Union, but spared the offices of the "Vatra Romaneasca" Union and the National Salvation Front, the author of the article says that the conflict essentially discloses "the rising temperature of dogmatism, the aggressive agony of people stripped of privileges or threatened to lose them who take advantage of every opportunity to lash at the guarantors of the country's progress to democracy the political parties.

"The question is not that of rights" (viz. for the nationalities) "but of tolerance, of the law-processing technology" says Nicolae Cristache, and built-up tensions "that are released in a monthly tremor" is in the journalist's opinion, "the result of keeping in office large numbers of former party activists, and of hastily fulfilling certain Hungarian claims.

New Mures PNUC Executive Bureau Elected

AU2303182190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1600 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Today, at 1630, after almost 8 hours of discussions, the members of the Mures County Provisional National Unity Council, in the presence of the Special Governmental Commission elected a new Executive Bureau that includes 21 members: 12 Romanians, 8 Hungarians, and 1 German. Valer Galeq was elected president, and Zoltan Kolozsvari, Aurel Rusu, Gheorghe Virag were elected vice presidents. Gheorghe Patrascu was elected as the Council's secretary.

Vatra Romaneasca Takes Stand on Tirgu Mures

AU2403172790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1006 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/3/1990—In a statement on the events in Satu Mare and Tirgu Mures, the Free Democratic Youth Organization of Bihor is firmly against all the regrettable shows of chauvinism or national differentiation. It calls on all the inhabitants of Bihor County not to give free play to the chauvinistic provocations which aim at destabilizing the country and cause suffering both to the Romanian citizens and to the nationalities. Such actions are an outcome of extremist mentalities, the last remnants of the dark years we have passed through, the statement shows. Nationalism must find no room in our souls. The Romanian hearth belongs to everybody who has been living here.

Stand Taken by the Bucharest Branch of "Vatra Romaneasca" Union

Expressing satisfaction at the beginning of the activity of the joint commission in Tirgu Mures, whose works are held in the presence of a governmental commission, the Bucharest branch of the "Vatra Romaneasca" Union expresses its confidence that the talks will end in the best decisions apt to ensure a good living together of Romanians and the Magyar minority in Transylvania.

The Bucharest branch of the Union calls for an immediate cessation of any extremist action of the provocative elements that want to compromise the fine traditional ties established among the inhabitants of this land as well as the fundamental values of the Romanian people's morals and culture, the very stability of the state. The branch also expresses concern over the pressures exerted on a proper unfolding of the joint commission's works.

Appeal of the Human Rights League

Given the situation in some Transylvanian counties and the difficult time Romania is traversing, the Human

Rights League of Bucharest launches an appeal to unity, calm and understanding between all the Romanians and the Magyars in Ardeal.

The extremist attitudes, no matter wherefrom they might come, can but worsen the situation placing the democracy won with so much blood in jeopardy.

The victory of the December 1989 revolution can be maintained and consolidated but through the unity of all the honest people in Romania, whatever their nationality.

The Human Rights League offers its good offices to facilitate a constructive dialogue among all the sides concerned.

Tirgu Mures Commission Starts Inquiry

AU2403173090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1243 GMT 24 Mar 90

["Transylvania—Balance Sheet of the Incidents in Tirgu Mures"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/3/1990—The special commission investigating the acts of disorder and violence committed after 15 March 1990 in Mures County started its activity in Tirgu Mures.

Several persons are under arrest.

An appeal was launched to all those who can bring evidence of the acts of violence committed in various parts of the city and the county, and know the persons who provoked them to inform the Mures County Police Inspectorate.

We mention that 269 persons were wounded, three died, and 72 are in hospital, of which 50 are Romanians and 22 Magyars.

Eyewitness Describes 16 Mar Events in T. Mures

LD2403180190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] When we first got reports of the clashes in Tirgu Mures ["Marovsvasarhely"], eyewitnesses and news agencies said it was likely that the 15 March celebrations locally, and in Hungary, made the Romanians lose their temper. That there is some connection between the 15 March celebrations and the pogroms seems proven by the following recording made on the 16 March. I must warn you that what you will hear is not of very good sound quality since the message was sent to us on a microcassette, but what is on the tape is of documentary value.

[Begin (Koermoecki) recording] My name is (Emese Koermoecki), an employee of the 28th Pharmacy Cooperative in Tirgu Mures. I would like to explain what exactly did happen in Tirgu Mures on 16 March 1990. I am personally accussed of having made a statement in front of an army officer, that here in this pharmacy, from now on, we will not serve Romanian patients, only Hungarians.

I will tell you what happened.

On Friday morning, around 1000 to 1100, an employee arrived at the request of the pharmacy to paint on the glass window of the pharmacy the word "Gyogyszertar" [meaning pharmacy in Hungarian] next to the "Farmacie". When he started work, the man from the candy shop next door, known to be a member of Vatra Romaneasca, reacted by very strongly objecting. He then started to gather a crowd. Indeed, quite a large crowd soon gathered and broke down the door against all our protestations, forced their way into the pharmacy, threatened to kill me, lifted a large vase over my head, and then pushed the manager into a corner; they behaved in a barbaric manner. We called out to the local police and army. They did appear, but in very small numbers. They said that there was nothing they could do; that the crowd was right; that they are impotent, and we were wrong to take such liberties—even though there were legal provisions for this. This was provocation, incitement, and we should have stopped it.

Alright, we said, we wiped off with acetone what writing was already there to pacify the crowd, but the crowd was not willing to be pacified. They were demanding the head of the manager. They said they will kill us all off. We could escape with some difficulty through the back door which was usually blocked, closing the pharmacy. Afterwards Vatra Romaneasca marched with their slogans through the town and caused disturbance all night. [end recording]

Diamantescu Addresses Tirgu Mures Demonstrators

AU2403203390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Major General Corneliu Diamantescu, deputy minister of the interior and member of the governmental commission present in Tirgu Mures, addressed the several hundred Romanian demonstrators who were demonstrating peacefully in the city's central square. He spoke about the activity to date of the commission investigating the disturbances and acts of violence that have occurred in Tirgu Mures and the county after 15 March 1990. The commission assured the demonstration participants and the county's whole population that the commission will work in an objective and responsible spirit to establish the truth and to identify and punish those found guilty of the damage and violence in Tirgu Mures and the county.

'Threat' of 'Nationalist Actions' in Transylvania

LD2403204590 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Excerpts] The Romanian Government position is more restrained, but there is threat of further nationalist

actions in Translyvania. Peter Marvanyi reports from Bucharest with a Romanian roundup.

[Begin Marvanyi recording] [passage omitted] [sounds of chanting in background: "Iliescu, do not forget Translyvania—it is yours, too", "Iliescu, do not forget it, it is your crime, too"] The demonstrators are shouting these slogans on the Tirgu Mures main square, which is surrouned by tanks, and paratroopers with machine guns. The demonstration has been going on since midday, the number of participants is increasing, and the clamor is intensifying. Now, the several-thousand-strong crowd's chanting can be heard several kilometers away.

It cannot be said for sure that Vatra Romaneasca might be behind today's action. More probably the Romanian Peasants' Party carried out its threat. Today and yesterday the crowd staged, and is staging, a demonstration at the location where the Romanian political parties, the government commission, the Democratic Association of Magyars in Romania, and Vatra are holding talks. The head of the commission, First Deputy Premier Gelu Voican, said that they would not work under pressure from the streets, on which the representatives of the Peasants' Party left the assembly hall saying that they were already organizing a demonstration for today. So far, there have been no reports of atrocities and rowdiness. [end recording]

Hungarian Union Denies Call for Demonstrations

AU2403213490 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] The leadership of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [HDUR] informs all its members and the whole Hungarian population of the country that it did not initiate any kind of demonstrations for tomorrow, 25 March, at 1000 [0700 GMT]. Thus, the communique denies rumors to this end circulating throughout the country, particularly in Transylvania—false rumors peddled by provocateur and irresponsible elements.

The HDUR asks all Romanian citizens of Hungarian origin to maintain calm and lucidity, be cautious, and show human and civic dignity.

Commentary Examines Cause of Ethnic Unrest

AU2403225290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1643 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/3/1990—Who Desecrated Tombs? wonders Petre Calapodescu in his commentary in daily "LIBERTATEA," referring to those who incited to and indulged in violence in Tirgu Mures City, marring the purity of the blood shed by the youth who fulfilled the December revolution urging to non-violence.

No decent Romanian or Hungarian wants a recrudescence of violence, the author notes, continuing to wonder: "Who and why does incite again the people who otherwise plough together, work together in the same factory, who is it that instigates families that, he a Romanian, she a Hungarian, have children to grow? [sentence as received] Who and for how much? The fact that ABCs have been brought to Transylvania as a gift means only an act of culture. But bringing also poisonous maps disavowed by the international community itself is quite different, this is ill will, assesses the author of the article in "LIBERTATEA."

Tirgu Mures Mayor 'Very Sad' About Violence

AU2403230190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1632 GMT 24 Mar 90

["Tirgu Mures: What the Mayor Thinks"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/3/1990—I am very sad I was not able to prevent the violence in Tirgu Mures through a civilized dialogue as violence is known to breed violence and to serve no one, says Mr. Valeriu Gabor, mayor of Mures County, in an interview with the newspaper "DIMINEATA."

Had the order-keeping forces been strong the county council headquarters would never have been devastated. The town of Tirgu Mures only had 200 policemen, the mayor says. Recalling the course of events he shows that their cause was the anniversary of the 1848 Magyar revolution on March 15, which was obviously anti-Romanian in character, beyond its democratic claims.

The Romanian Government agreed—and perhaps we in Transylvania should have been consulted—to official celebrations on an embassy and consulate level; it did not agree to wide-scope demonstrations. "The tourists" come from Hungary turned the ceremony into an act of hostility to this country, an act in which local Hungarians also took part.

Concerned over the situation and over actions taken by local Hungarians who asked the Romanian who entered pharmacies, shops and even factories to go back to where they came from, on March 16 local Romanians staged a peaceful demonstration. A car ran into the demonstrators seriously injuring several people (a little girl who had lapsed into a coma was taken to hospital). After two-days of calm, on March 19 a new demonstration was staged with the people demanding the replacement of the vice-president of the county PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council], Mr. Kincses, a claim which was fulfilled. The demonstrators attacked the headquarters of the parties inside the building of the former RCP [Romanian Communist Party] cabinet, where an individual who stabbed a demonstrator had hidden. Apparently, the mayor opines, there is someone interested in organizing, in provoking such actions, taking advantage of the weaknesses of our young democracy. It was a pity that writer Andras Suto was a victim of these unfortunate events. A counter- demonstration was staged by the Hungarians on March 20.

I think the Romanian Government, even if provisional, made a number of rushed concessions the mayor says. It should be said out loud that Romanian is the official language of this state, that it must be spoken in all public institutions, together with the languages of the nationalities. If that imperative truth had been said no one would have thought he was done injustice when asked to obey the law of the country of which he is a citizen.

Everything was directed so as the blame could fall on Mr. Iliescu, the mayor believes. The tendency is obvious and I would not say it is the making of the Hungarians—they only tend to exaggerate their claims thinking they may suddenly get what they lost in the years of dictatorship and even more. Manipulation of Romanian feelings along an anti-Iliescu and anti-government line comes from elsewhere and attempts are made at internationalizing the events. Many Western journalists come to Tirgu Mures from Budapest these days said the great obsession of many Hungarian politicians was Transylvania. That is why, the mayor shows, the two countries' leaders should have met and sort things out. Furthermore, firm laws should be issued to defend all citizens and to ensure their duties.

Anti-Magyar Demonstrations in Tirgu Mures, Cluj

LD2503084390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] In Tirgu Mures during the evening, around 6,000 anti-Magyar demonstrators demanded the resignation of the chairman of Bucharest Television. Certain speakers claimed that Romanian peasants had been murdered, that people of Romanian nationality had disappeared in Transylvania, and that the television had kept quiet about these incidents.

In Cluj, the local presidium of the Vatra Romaneasca organization protested against the reopening of the Hungarian Consulate.

Harghita, Covasna Welcome Government Statement

AU2503152490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1949 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/3/1990—The county organizations of Covasna and Harghita of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania and the Hungarian Democratic Youth Union of Romania welcome the declaration of the Romanian Government considering it to contribute to a great extent to maintaining the peaceful coexistence between the Romanians and Hungarians in the country, and the decisions of the government of March 23 that offer a guarantee for the knowledge of the real causes of the recent inter-ethnic conflicts in Transylvania, especially in Tirgu Mures.

A communique endorsed by the above-mentioned organizations shows inter alia: Considering the global interests of the national economy and out of the wish to help the extinction of the inter-ethnic tensions we decided to call off our appeal to strike. We wish to once more emphasize that we condemn any form of violence, any extremism, the communique shows, mentioning that the problems of a democratic society, including the inter-ethnic conflicts, must be settled through dialogue.

Roman Receives Transylvanian Delegations 25 Mar

AU2603130390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1156 GMT 26 Mar 90

["Transylvania—Delegations from Transylvanian Towns Call on the Prime Minister"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/3/1990—Representatives of "Vatra Romaneasca" Union, the territorial branch of Satu Mare, were received Sunday by Prime Minister Petre Roman. Informing about the celebration in Satu Mare County of the National Day of Hungary by Romanian citizens of Hungarian nationality alongside a large number of citizens from Hungary, they expressed the Romanian people's indignation at such an act which violates the Romanian state's sovereignty. Referring to the Hungarian Television's broadcast "Panorama", the representatives of "Vatra Romaneasca" Union, Satu Mare branch, said it includes false and tendentious pieces of information which harm the Romanian people's national feelings, and distort the events taking place in Romania so as to stir confusion and produce instability. The prime minister mentioned that a protest will be forwarded to the Hungarian Government.

The same day, Mr. Petre Roman and Mr. Adrian Motiu, minister secretary of state, met with a delegation of the "Fratia Romaneasca" movement of Reghin, who brought clarifying elements in relation to the causes that generated the incidents in Tirgu Mures and Mures County. The prime minister expressed the Government's determination to take measures so as to prevent any form of insulting the national sentiments of the Romanians in Ardeal.

Hungarian Union Condemns Statue's 'Profanation'

AU2603183490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1654 GMT 26 Mar 90

["Transylvania: Profanation by Ignorance"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 26/3/1990—The leadership of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania expressed its indignation at the profanation of the statue

of Miklos Wesselenyi in Zalau, by great sculptor Janos Fadrusz, author of the statue of Matei Corvin in the centre of Cluj.

A communique sent by the all-country Provisional Committee of the Union to ROMPRES shows that this reprovable act proves nothing but a lack of knowledge of the common history of the Romanians and Magyars in Transylvania.

A Hungarian aristocrat who took part in the 1848 revolution, Wesselenyi was the first nobleman in Transylvania who freed and then settled the serfs on his estate, most of them Romanians.

During Ceausescu's dictatorship, Wesselenyi's statue had to be hidden in a wooden box for years. The fact that now, after our revolution it has been splashed with paint should be considered a regrettable incident, and the fact that after that incident Romanians and Hungarians worked on 25 March to clean it expresses the attitude we see as necessary for the defence of the assets of our common past.

We demand that the Hungarians of Romania should prove calm and moderation vis-a-vis such incidents which cannot be considered as representative for the real relation of interests between the Romanians and Hungarians in Transylvania, the communique reads inter alia.

Campeanu Says No Separate Schools for Hungarians

AU2603183690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1650 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 26/3/1990—"As is known, for the moment, the course of events is positive and it must in no way be interrupted," stated Radu Campeanu, secretary-general of the National Liberal Party. Speaking on Sunday [24 March] during a press conference held after the meeting with members of the party's branches of Timis, Arad and Caras Severin Counties, Mr Campeanu rejected the creation of separate universities or of exclusive campuses belonging to the Hungarian nationality in Romania. "There is no such thing anywhere in the world," he said but admitted the creation of a number of chairs for certain disciplines.

Instruction in Magyar Resumes at Academy

AU2703103590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0921 GMT 27 Mar 90

["Instruction: A Transylvanian Academy"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/3/1990—Operating in Cluj is the Transylvanian Academy of Visual Arts, a higher-learning institute (the former "N. Andreescu" fine arts institute) where theoretical disciplines are taught both in Romanian and Magyar (tuition in Magyar starts now after a roughly nine-year interruption).

The change in the name, intended to more accurately reflect the specific of the institute, is accompanied by changes in admittance terms. So, for instance, the admittance examination will be taken in two stages, of which the first—in which the would-be student will show the testing board his works and will be given a mark—is eliminatory. The second stage will be a dialogue between candidates and the board, at the end of which the former will be oriented towards certain departments of the academy.

Both the organizing and the testing boards will be mixed; they will include professors, students and personalities of the cultural life, not necessarily experts in visual arts.

Tirgu Mures Back to Normal; Schools Resume

AU2603190890 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1700 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] An atmosphere of calm reigns in Tirgu Mures and surroundings, we have been informed by our reporter, Ion Buncan.

A few more elements are added to this image to strengthen the local residents' trust in the elimination of the conflicts for ethnic reasons in the shortest possible time.

Almost all schools, including secondary schools, Bolyai University, as well as the Institute of Medicines and Pharmacy have resumed their courses. The leaders of the Hungarian medical students announced the end of their strike yesterday. However, the number of students attending courses was very limited. The explanation is only one: The non-local students have left hostels and their return to attend courses will take place gradually.

Also today, consultations took place in the presence of the Government Commission between Romanian and Hungarian young people, as well as a meeting of the Mures County Provisional National Unity Council on organizational matters.

The joint commission made up of representatives of the Vatra Romaneasca Union and of the local branch of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania will meet again tomorrow morning.

It has to be mentioned that downtown Tirgu Mures has been cleared by the order-keeping forces, so that, after several days of disruption, road and pedestrian traffic resumed today. Restoration of damaged targets during the confrontations has also begun. Military forces and the police continue to watch over the normal progress of the daily activity.

Tirgu Mures Victims Treated in Bucharest

AU2603194390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1821 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 26/3/1990—Five patients were taken from Tirgu Mures to clinics in Bucharest, and one is to be sent to a specialized clinic in Switzerland.

This decision was made public by a commission of teaching staff led by Radu Pop, MD, deputy minister of health, who examined the persons who got hurt during the events in Tirgu Mures.

Celac Meets Hungarian Envoy at Latter's Request

AU2603201690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1845 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 26/3/1990—Monday, 26 March, the Romanian Minister of Foreign Affairs Sergiu Celac received the ambassador of the Hungarian Republic, Pal Szuts, on the latter's request.

The Romanian minister underlined the wish of this country's government to achieve a constructive openness in the relations with the new government of the Hungarian Republic to be formed in the wake of the elections, with a view to solving the various problems on the agenda of bilateral ties, of initiating further steps in this direction.

Roman Leaves To Visit Transylvania Region

AU2703080090 Paris AFP in English 0737 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, March 27 (AFP)—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman visited Transylvania on Tuesday [27 March] after ethnic clashes which left several people dead and hundreds injured last week, semi-official sources said.

Mr. Roman left here Tuesday for the city of Cluj for a visit prompted by last week's clashes between ethnic Hungarians and Romanians.

However, it was not known why he was visiting Cluj, which has been calm, and not Tirgu Mures, where the fighting took place. People there have demanded to see the country's leaders.

The government said three people died in last week's clashes, although local sources said eight were killed. More than 300 were injured.

Mr. Roman's trip was also part of his campaign for the May 20 general election, when he is a candidate for the National Salvation Front, the sources said.

Tension has steadily increased in Transylvania since last December's revolution, which allowed longstanding hostility between Hungarians and Romanians to resurface.

Talks With University Staff

AU2703094090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0841 GMT 27 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 27/3/1990—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman is in Cluj-Napoca City in Transylvania. At the time of our newscast, he has a meeting with teaching staff of the local university.

Central Electoral Bureau Appointed

AU2503145990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0917 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/3/1990—According to the new electoral campaign, the Supreme Court of Justice designated, by ballot, the seven judges of the Central Electoral Bureau for the 20 May general elections in Romania. The president of the Central Electoral Bureau is Judge Ovidiu Zarnescu.

The bureau also includes representatives of the political parties and groupings.

Daily Says Ethnic Unrest Could Hinder Elections

AU2503150390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1231 GMT 24 mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/3/1990—Owing to the clashes in Tirgu Mures, the electoral campaign in Romania made its debut under the sign of violence and, if this violence does not cease as soon as possible, the ballot may be given up because it cannot select a genuinely democratic government, states the director of the daily "ADEVARUL," Darie Novaceanu.

In a commentary on the events in Transylvania, Mr Novaceanu accuses the leaders of some parties "who wandered through the Transylvanian towns in the days before the storm and, ignominiously, they were not in Tirgu Mures to see the truth on the spot and directly help extinguish the hotbeds of hatred and death," preferring to make statements on the television.

Referring to the Magyar Democratic Union's statement, according to which the governmental commission's communique on the events in Tirgu Mures "turned into another source of confusions and tendentious interpretations instead of leading to an understanding of what is happening, to calming down the spirits and lessening the inter-ethnic tension," the director of "ADEVARUL" states: "Maybe it is this assessment of the communique that is not likely to set the spirits at rest and to lessen tension."

Darie Novaceanu expresses his hope that the demonstration which, according to some pieces of information, is to be staged in Tirgu Mures on Sunday, 25 March, will be "a joint demonstration of the Romanians and Magyars who are resolved to translate into fact, in the open, the statements made these days."

Government Communique on Election Campaign

AU2503152090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1901 GMT 24 Mar 90

["Election Campaign—Communique"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/3/1990—Romania's Government has established measures to secure the required conditions for a good organization and unfolding of the election campaign and elections of March [month as received] 20, 1990. At the same time, concrete tasks were established for ensuring the necessary funds and equipment as well as the technical and auxiliary personnel to assist in the activity of the election offices.

Parties' Positions on Election Campaign

AU2603160490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1500 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 26/3/1990—Democratic Party of Romania (of Democracy, Justice and Dignity): The programmes that most of the political parties started their election campaign with, do not differ essentially, said Andrei Grosu, the party's vice-president. On the campaign, my party pursues a circumstantial alliance to offset the unfair advantage that the two superpowers—the National Salvation Front [NSF] and the historical parties—took right from the start. National Salvation Front: The election campaign, said Bogdan Patrascu, member of the National Initiative Committee, marks the end of our organizational activity to designate the leading bodies of the National Salvation Front as a political movement, which is only normal after all, given its late emergence on the political state. In the election campaign which gets under way, our ideological position will not depart from the initial platform to which only details will be added to include the proposals made at county level. The upcoming NSF national conference will round off the election strategy.

Free Democratic Party: The attempts being made are just a front to deceive some people so that the campaign may be said to have been democratic, Leon Nica, its president, said about the beginning of the election campaign. He showed that a meeting was due of representatives of the Democratic Constitutional, National Democratic, Democratic Unity, Hungarian Independent, Moldova's Democratic Unity, Free Democratic Parties which make the democratic centre parties to agree on an election campaign strategy. As far as the Liberal Democratic Party is concerned a decision has not been made yet on whether to field or not candidates, to run or not an election campaign.

The Republican Party: We will probably begin the election campaign with a few dialogues on television, radio and in the written press, said its president, Ion Minzatu, who added: We think about a direct dialogue with the party's supporters and members, with the many people who try to suggest the path to a Romanian democracy that we do not invent, but take over from the experience of the world's most democratic nations. We do not believe that any one party will win the election on 20 May. Therefore, we started a dialogue with other moderate parties so that, we may find together a common platform that is convincing for the electorate.

NSF Organization Established in Bucharest

AU2503171090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1557 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] The National Salvation Front [NSF] emerged as a movement that rejected communism as ideology and practice, remaining the most faithful image of the Romanian revolution, of the overthrow of dictatorship and Romania's entrance into the era of liberty, stated Premier Petre Roman at the founding meeting of the Municipal NSF Organization whose proceedings started in Bucharest on Sunday. The NSF movement opened gates to all Romanian citizens, to all young people because it asserted itself as a non-partisan movement which has given up ideologies and obsolete political reflexes.

The meeting's agenda includes debates on the NSF platform-programme and statute, and their approval, election of the executive board of the municipal organization as well as election of delegates to the national conference.

Iliescu Appeals for 'Responsibility'

AU2603091690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0737 GMT 26 Mar 90

["NSF Bucharest Branch Foundation Meeting"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/3/1990—An exacerbation of nationalist sentiment in Transylvania at this time when Romanian society is greatly upset is something very grave, something that can hardly be kept under control and that certain political parties try to make electoral capital of, Mr. Ion Iliescu, PNUC president, told a foundation meeting of the National Salvation Front's Bucharest branch Sunday 25 March. The speaker appealed on all political forces and all the citizens of Romania to show a sense of responsibility and clear-sightedness, to put national interests above party or private interests.

The National Salvation Front, said Mr. Iliescu, is a center-leftist movement born in the revolution which calls on all working people, on the broadest classes of manual and intellectual workers whose aspirations for liberty and democracy it voices. The Front assumed the task of defending the country and leading it at a time when Romanian society was deep in crisis, and it must remain a political force that can ensure a future to Romania by mobilizing public conscience.

On the economic programme, Mr. Iliescu said that its option is the transition from the old, ossified, megalomaniac structures to the market economy by keeping

control of the levers apt to defend national interests. He outlined a diversification of ownership—state, cooperative joint ventures and private companies—that can put the Romanian economy in a position to adjust to the world economy. The speaker also showed that the biggest change is under way in agriculture where more than 30 percent of the land is either leased on a long term or becomes the property of those who wish to farm it. These are steps toward an efficient agriculture, with incentives being expected to lead to higher farm productions.

Mr. Iliescu ended his address by calling on the youth, on all NSF supporters for an active election campaign that can efficiently promote the front's role and future action for the development of the country.

Speaking at the same meeting, the prime minister, Mr. Petre Roman, said that the NSF was the best image of the Romanian revolution, of the fall of the dictatorship and Romania's entrance in the age of liberty. The NSF movement opened its doors to all the citizens of the country because it is a non-partisan movement free from outmoded ideologies or political reflexes.

At the end of the meeting, the Front's steering bodies were elected, as well as the delegates to the national conference.

Events Leading to 28 Jan 'Attempted Coup' Outlined

AU1703184590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1753 GMT 17 Mar 90

["Political Life: Romanian Government's Answer to Some Parties"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 17/3/1990—As reported, the leader of the Christian and Democratic National Peasants' Party, the Social Democratic Party and the National Liberal Party made a statement published by the Romanian press on Friday with regard to the position of the Executive Bureau of the National Salvation Front Council prior to the 28 January demonstration in Bucharest. The answer the Romanian Government sent to ROMPRES for publication shows that the statement made by the three parties makes no reference to the real unfolding of events. So, the answer specifies that a meeting of the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] [as received] Executive Bureau was held on 27 January when it was announced that the demonstration of the two parties would not be staged as said (University Square) if the NSFC [National Salvation Front Council] did not dissolve, and the demonstrators would make for the Victory Square.

Under a statement published by "DREPTATEA" as early as 20 January, the three parties explicitly demanded the dissolution of the NSFC and the taking over of power by a provisional government of coalition of the parties founded till that date, the answer also mentions. A similar statement was made by Mr Coposu on 28 January to the Romanian and foreign journalists that were in front of the NSFC Headquarters.

The 27 January meeting of the NSFC Executive Bureau discussed the possibility for an unpeaceful demonstration in the Victory Square and the protective measures to be taken by the police and the Army in such a situation.

A meeting of Bucharest enterprises was also announced to take place concurrently with the three parties' demonstration.

In connection with the possibility that both groups of demonstrators would head for the Victory Square, Ion Caramitru expressed his concern over the potential emergence of violent confrontations. The discussions led to the conclusion that, beside protective measures to be undertaken by the police and Armed Forces, no other actions should have to be taken.

In the afternoon of 27 January a meeting-dialogue of representatives of the NSFC and the three parties took place in a constructive spirit. The possibility was discussed that the founded parties partake the country's political leadership, the NSFC representatives expressing the NSFC's intention to enlarge its composition by including representatives of all political groupings and of the ethnic minorities into the political leadership. It was decided that the understanding reached be made public on the television the same evening by the NSFC and the aforementioned parties, either together or separately. As is known, only the NSFC representatives observed the accord. Moreover, upon Mr Coposu's express request, the idea was accepted to change the name of the NSFC into the PNUC.

The events on 28 January corroborated the attempted coup to eliminate the NSFC and to take over the power. The NSFC leadership met with representatives of the three parties the same day in the afternoon. That meeting evinced deliberate disconsideration of the understanding reached a day before as well as determination to topple the NSFC and the government by force, the Romanian Government's answer shows in conclusion.

Bank Chief on Foreign Currency Possession Norms

AU2203111690 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 11 Mar 90 p 4

[Interview with Vasile Voloseniuc, president of the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank, by Radu Negrea; place and date not given: "How Do We Go About Our Foreign Currency Deposits?"]

[Text] [Negrea] Please tell us about the conditions under which Romanian citizens can own foreign currency.

[Voloseniuc] Foreign currency holders can open personal accounts for sums in excess of $100, 100 rubles, or their equivalent in other currencies with the Romanian Foreign Trade Bank in Bucharest and with the National

Bank branches in the country. Interest amounting to 4 percent will be paid for convertible currency deposits in these accounts and 1.5 percent will be paid for other currencies. Sums below the aforementioned limits can be kept in temporary accounts, without interest.

The opening of accounts and additional deposits into these accounts can be done by filling out an application form and providing an example of the owner's signature; no proof of the origin of the foreign money will be requested by the banks. The money deposited with the banks can be withdrawn partially or fully after filling out a written application in this respect and presenting the usual identification (identity card, passport). In keeping with the wishes of the account owner, the money can also be used by other individuals corporate bodies.

A 1-percent commission—or at least $1 or its equivalent in other currencies—will be charged for any withdrawal transaction. In the past, the banks charged almost twice as much and the current level of this commission is among the lowest in the world. All banks charge commissions for such transactions; in many cases, their minimal level is $5-10, or as much as 9 pounds sterling as charged by certain British banks.

It is worth pointing out that, in general, the foreign banks do not pay interest on current accounts from which money can be withdrawn at any time.

It is to the advantage of Romanian citizens who own foreign currency means to keep their money in the bank, also because the banks check the authenticity of the banknotes deposited, thus preventing possible surprises later.

It is also worthwhile mentioning the fact that, in accordance with the new regulations introduced with the government decision of 14 January 1990, Romanian citizens can make full use of the foreign currency received as inheritance, pensions, donations, reparations, assistance, and so forth.

Article 'Calls Attention' to Minority Issues

AU2203120890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0944 GMT 22 Mar 90

["Without Any Complex"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 22/3/1990—There are forces wishing to attribute Romanians a kind of "European complex", meaning herein they would be better prepared morally to integrate into a European home than the Romanians who are marked by the aftermaths of a quite recently toppled dictatorship, and likely to be lured by the perspective of a vainglorious self-isolation even if it would engender underdevelopment, the independent daily ROMANIA LIBERA shows in an article contributed by writers Ion Pavelescu and Eliade Balan.

The attitude toward minorities some people put down to Romanians considering them, without much ceremony, as chauvinists is false and insubstantial because the Romanians have always asserted their national identity without making it an obstacle to communication and to the exchange of assets, the article shows. The xenophobia called forth by some people belonged to a system and not to a people that has always been open to the world, as history proves, that has understood the course of events. The great democratic revolutionaries of this people like Nicolae Balcescu, when referring to the national question, underscorsd the need "to harmonize together" as a prerequisite for joining the civilized nations, a concept that holds today, too. Actions have continued to harmonize the Romanians' interests with the minorities', inside, and with the big democracies', outside. In the inter-war period, for instance, Nicolae Titulescu was considered a forerunner of the building of a vigorous European edifice apt to instill everybody confidence and the wish for a broad exchange of assets.

The above-mentioned ideas are analysed by the two writers at a time when in Mures County, Transylvnia, the conflicts between Romanian citizens and minority Magyars have taken on violent forms with very serious consequences. The authors also mention another county of this Romanian province, Bihor, where there also are Magyars who live alongside Romanians in normal conditions after the revolution, being inspired by esteem and respect they traditionally have had for one another and by the wish to have their natural rights to practice their culture in the mother tongue accepted. Giving examples through statements made by Magyars and Romanians in the leadership of Bihor County, the newspaper calls attention on the correct policy which should be promoted in the national question enabling the citizens of this country to enter the common European home with head erect, without any complex.

Democratic Labor Party Presents Platform

AU2203201190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1911 GMT 22 Mar 90

["The Parties Introduce Themselves: The Democratic Labour Party"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/3/1990—Politically the party represents the interests of the "positive classes" of the society, the aspiration after democracy and welfare of the honest people who, by creative work with hands and brain sustain the edifice of social life. The Democratic Labour Party [DLP] thinks that the political revolution in Romania should be gradually consolidated through an in-depth economic and social reform. The base of the political democracy of that party is envisaged to be given by a genuine democratization of all spheres of social activity. The DLP campaigns for the materialization of such political and socio- economic principles as: form of government—, republic; multi- party democratic regime; separation of power in state; freedom of action of the opposition; the fundamental rights of individuals and of professional, religious and ethnic collectivities guaranteed under Constitution. It also speaks up for the reorganization of the economic life in keeping with the

requirements of the market, upon the principle of efficiency, the building of a mixed economy that should harmonize the social ownership with the free individual or group initiative, the decentralization of economic management and enterprises' self-management, the encouragement of scientific research and recycling of manpower, the differentiation of incomes by the quality of work done, averting unemployment and inflation, improvement of living conditions, five-day work-week, free medical assistance, the right to strike. ?

In agriculture, it campaigns for the diversification of the forms of ownership of land, the dismantlement of the cooperative producer farms in the hill and mountain zones, the farmers' free choice of the forms of association and organizations.

It advocates the constitutional guaranteeing of the national minorities' individual and collective rights, the freedom of thought and opinion, the unhampered practicing of religion in conditions of church's separation from the state.

On an external plane, the DLP declares for the promotion of good neighbourly and cooperative relations with all countries intere?ted in detente, disarmament and peace. It considers that Romania's territorial integrity, unity, independence and sovereignty must be defended as ultimate values.

Possible Amendment to Civil Aviation Accord

AU2203202390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1926 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 22/3/1990—Colonel Dumitru Prunariu, deputy minister of transport and chief of the Civil Aviation Department of Romania, and Alan Green Jr., Bucharest ambassador of the United States, made on March 22 an exchange of diplomatic notes to amend the bilateral agreement between Romania and the U.S. on civil aviation, signed in 1973, and to extend it until January 31, 1992. The amendment refers to the enclosure of an article on aviation safety. This shows both parties' preoccupation to ensure the safety of the aircraft, passengers and commodities in the spirit of the international agreements. New possibilities to develop the collaboration between the two states in air transport and civil aviation generally were also discussed.

Leaders Criticized for Resorting to Foreign Aid

AU2303102090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0833 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/3/1990—Noting that under the banner of democracy there are people who sow confusion—resorting to the "confiscation of the revolution" slogan, inter alia—the Bucharest newspaper "LIBERTATEA" opines that the threat is another one: "there is the risk of blocking the revolution as the political myriapod, whose legs represent various interests, falls out of step."

"The opposition is largely concerned with collateral aspects and it failed to put representative leaders in the limelight," the editorial in this newspaper explains. "However, it is not the lack of exercise in the manifestation of democracy that is to blame. And then, why should we do everything possible to bring them to the fore at all costs? If we do not want a comeback of communism do you think we could be saved by the tours of Paris or Geneva made by the recent Coposu-Iftene Pop pair who went there to ask for more and more foreign shield bearers to protect our frail democracy? Is the revolution out of danger if Mr Papailian "protects" it or if Mr Ratiu talks to Mrs Thatcher or if Mr Cazimir Ionescu plays the role of the overseer in the parliament?"

Study Group Debates Pace of Decentralization

AU2303104790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0801 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 22/3/1990—Decentralization and the passage to a market economy are seen in Romania at present as absolutely necessary actions for both the recovery and long-term development of the national economy, said Gheorghe Manea, one of the participants in the latest meeting of the "Group for Economic Dialogue," a permanent body which discusses the urgent issues in the economy and which was created by the National Institute of Economic Research.

Debating the theme "centralization-decentralization and the behaviour of social production systems" the participants showed that the transition from the current type of centralized management to a management promoting free initiative to boost the efficiency of economic activities and the competitivity of products was a long- term process. There are favouring elements in this respect, such as the political one, but there are also restrictive factors, such as the structure of production. Seen from inside the production units, manufacturing systems are either rigid—calling for centralized management—or adaptable—typical of the market economy and implying decentralized management. According to this acceptation, the participants said, decentralization in general—and in Romania in particular—is tantamount to deep-going changes in the structure of manufacturing systems and information sciences applied to many of them, which is one of the most important urgent measures intended to change the behaviour of the systems we inherited from the super centralized economy—information science applied to the production process from top to bottom and used as feedback for the continuous improvement of production.

61 Political Parties Now Registered

AU2303122490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1020 GMT 23 Mar 90

["Political Life: 61 Political Parties in Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 23/3/1990—Another 13 political parties have registered at the Bucharest City Court since the beginning of March, bringing the total to 61.

Among the latest that were given legal status are: the "LIBERTATEA" anticommunist and antifascist workers' alliance, the United Democratic Party of the Romanies, Fiddlers and Woodworkers of Romania, the Romanian National Party, the National Unity Party of Transylvanian Romanians, the National Progressive Party, the Romanian Unity Republican Party, the Freedom and Human Rights Christian Party.

Air Force Chief on Casualties in Revolution

AU2403174990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0917 GMT 24 Mar 90

["Interview With the Air Force Commander"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 24/3/1990—The loss of the Romanian Air Force in the fights of the 22 December 1989 revolution stands at 22 dead and 37 wounded, including officers, noncommissioned officers, military engineers, recruits, stated to "TINERETUL LIBER" daily Major General Horia Opruta, air force commander, who specified that the victims were pilots, paratroopers, ground mechanics. The paratroopers, sent to defend the television and radio studios, through their heroism and spirit of sacrifice, proved their loyalty from the very first moment, the colloquitor went on. The entire Air Force defended the revolution alongside the paratroopers.

Referring to the shot-down helicopters, the air force commander said: The one at Boteni was shot down by shell fired by the terrorists who attacked the airport. The helicopter that was bringing the generals of sad remembrance Nuta (deputy minister of the interior) and Mihalea (his assistant) was shot down by an automatic pistol fire which perforated it. The crew were catapulted dying because of the shock, while the prisoners, handtied and handcuffed to their chairs, died in the fire, being identified afterwards through a criminalistic examination.

Major General Horia Opruta also specified that the Romanian Air Force has no data regarding the existence of foreign aircraft in Romania's air space.

Stanculescu, Voican View Ceausescu Trial

AU2603102490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0743 GMT 26 Mar 90

["Recourse to Method"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bcharest, ROMPRES, 26/3/1990—I found it only natural that I should see to the technical details of the trial says Colonel General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu in a serialized interview given jointly with Deputy Prime Minister Voican-Voiculescu for the daily DIMINEATA on the trial of the two tyrants. He says that, on the basis of the charges brought against the two tyrants on which the prosecution had been working since 22 December when they were arrested, two military judges were summoned, Colonel Gica Popa and Colonel Ion Nistor, a military prosecutor, Major Dan Voinea, and a clerk, Quarter Master Jan Tanase.

The judges as well as the persons who were to take part in the trial of the pair left Bucharest for Tirgoviste on board five IAR 330 helicopters. They flew at very low altitude on a zigzag route with only one of the helicopters being in touch with the ground. Special measures had been taken in order that antiaircraft units not open fire on the helicopters. On approaching the garrison, the first of the helicopters, on which I was, flew a yellow ribbon, said the general; it was a sign for the commander of the Tirgoviste Garrison. Two helicopters landed, with the rest remaining another ten minutes in the air to make sure that everything was all right, after which they touched ground.

As the courtroom was being prepared, Mr. Voican told the judges a few things about the spirit in which the trial had to be conducted. "Those were general things", says the deputy prime minister which "made it clear that the two defendants had to be treated like ordinary persons since the revolution and indeed their flight had stripped them of all their prerogatives". "I suggested that they be treated disparagingly which the heinous criminals fully deserved".

Incredible as it may seem, says Mr. Voican, the fact is that the two never considered themselves prisoners. Their impression was that they were hidden there, at Tirgoviste, and that the commander was just waiting for the right time to take them to Bucharest and reinstate them to power. Every measure, including that of confining them to a light armoured vehicle overnight, was seen as necessary to counter any possible attack from the outside. A possibility which was only too real, for the population of Tirgoviste had learnt that the two had been caught in their city, and so had the Securitate who were not in doubt that they were held prisoners.

The trial came as a surprise to them. I think that not even after the medical check-up did they realize what was coming, says Mr. Voican. They simply could not imagine themselves in the position of defendants brought in

court. They had lost all sense of measure and were looking at themselves as above ordinary humans, above the law.

The Tirgoviste Garrison was attacked by terrorists but one can hardly say if they knew that the two dictators were under arrest there. The prompt and firm measures that were taken and the military order and discipline inside the unit were of great help in organizing the trial.

Besides the jury, there were in courtroom Captain Boeru under whose escort the two were held and who had orders to shoot them in the event the room was attacked, Colonel Balu who filmed the trial on a videocassette, three local officers who functioned as people's assessors, and another five persons including myself, General Stanculesc reminsces. In order that the persons who were in courtroom may not risk retalliation, we decided that they not be shown on television, and those images were replaced with still pictures.

"The jury got somehow subjectively involved" says Mr. Voican, "also irritated by the rigid, obstructionist and unrealistic position of the defendants" who defied all legal norms, and sickly rejected all evidence.

During the trial, the two defendants looked "out of their minds" says General Stanculescu, although they appeared more like as hypomanics, or paranoics. However, Mr. Voican is of the opinion that they were normal, particularly he who, out of programmatic ill- will and hoping that a miracle may set them free, denied all charges. He desperately looked around, pinning his hopes on every gesture that we made, especially Colonel Baiu who was shooting the film and carried a pistol that could easily be seen, and I, wherefrom he—probably and paradoxically—waited for his salvation to come. General Stanculescu did not look into his eyes once, not even when the dictator called him a traitor.

The dictator's watch that we took hold of eventually was checked, but did not prove out a radioemitter as it was allegedly said, Mr. Voican added. [sentence as received]

Jiu Valley Miners Trade Union League Set Up

AU2603130190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1158 GMT 26 Mar 90

["Social Life—The Miners Trade Union League of Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/3/1990—The Jiu Valley Miners Trade Union League was founded at Petrosani on 24 March. The founding meeting adopted the statute which says that the Jiu Valley Miners Trade Union League is a professional organization open to membership to all lawfully established trade union organizations in mining enterprises.

The league is independent of political parties and state bodies, as well as of all other trade union organizations, federations, unions of confederations. The league's 47-member national action committee is coordinated by an all-strong executive bureau.

Doctors Report on 'Poisoning' in Kosovo

AU2603145690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Olivija Rusovac report]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Regarding recent events in Kosovo, an epidemic of infectious diseases and illness caused by poisonous substances has been ruled out. This was stated in the Federal Chamber in the Committees for Health and Internal Policy by a group of doctors from federal medical institutions in Serbia at the request of the assembly delegates. Olivija Rusovac reports on the assembly proceedings:

[Rusovac] The results of the analysis exclude the presence of any chemical compounds, (?digestible) substances, pesticides, or drugs. The toxicological analysis of lungs has not established the presence of damaging substances; there is no epidemic of infectious diseases or poisoning. This was stated by Dr. Sina (?Dovecar), from the Federal Secretariat for Labor and Health, who added that by 24 March, doctors examined 2,993 people and that on 24 March, 854 persons were detained for treatment.

According to the personal observations of Dr. Branko Pocek, director of the Federal Institute for Medical Care, which he made after spending four and one-half hours on Kosovo and examining five cases, hospitalization is not necessary.

Dr. Krstan Paunovic, chief hygiene inspector of Serbia, said that he saw a man with strong convulsions but that he completely calmed down after he was given an infusion. General Vladimir Vojvodic, chief of the Army medical units and professor of toxicology, said that the analyses performed by the military medical academy are known and that he did not have anything to add to the statement issued by this institution. Answering the question raised by Vikotrija Potocnik on whether any other Yugoslav institutions had also examined the symptoms, he said that he did not know, but as far as the military medical academy is concerned, we are ready, he said, to forward all the samples to any other laboratory in Yugoslavia and abroad. Our equipment can identify around 200 chemical compounds and is among the most modern. [passage omitted]

Appeal for 'Cool Heads'

AU2603171890 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 23 Mar 90 p 5

[M. Rushiti commentary: "The Black Hand"]

[Text] A "black hand" has thrown a further poison into a Kosovo weary of psychological and bureaucratic-nationalist trickery. This time, the lives of more than 1,000 children and young people in Podujevo, Vucitrn, Urosevac, Gnjilane, Prizren, Srbica, and Lipljan have been put in danger in the most monstrous way. More than 417 young people in a state of collapse and showing signs of poisoning have been brought to the clinics of the Pristina Medical Faculty alone. It is, however, not known what kind of poisoning is involved, or who committed this act of barbarism, equal to attempted genocide.

The black hand (we hope that medical analyses and the relevant investigations, performed under the responsibility of a law-governed state that claims to be more effective than ever before, will soon show what we are dealing with?!) is aiming to turn Kosovo into a Romania (as a delegate from Urosevac said recently!) or a Lebanon, as has been said more than once in the last 10 years, even in official bodies and forums, whenever demonstrations and other disturbances have been mounted as well-organized harbingers of "revolutionary changes."

We would say that the filthiest aim of such a crime is to sow divisions among our peoples and nationalities, principally between Serbs and Albanians. This is the culmination of the introduction of the poison of hatred into multiethnic Kosovo, which has now become a veritable rifle range for domestic and foreign enemies who aim to destroy Tito's Yugoslavia, a community that can only lead a stable existence as a family of equals and by deepening genuine and direct democracy. It must be clearly said that there has been a real danger of a backlash from provocateurs of all hues in recent days, for they have failed to achieve their ambition of inciting civil or fratricidal war in Kosovo. However, at the very moment when hundreds of pupils from Podujevo were being brought unconscious to the Pristina Medical Faculty and when in Kosovo (and, one must think, perhaps not just in Kosovo) there can have been nobody with a human heart who did not shed a tear over this tragedy, which is unprecedented in the civilized world in either war or peace (!), Radio Pristina at 1400 broadcast the appeal of the students of this university city, who with dignity and good sense called on citizens, especially young people, to keep cool heads even in these difficult moments, not to fall into the traps of disinformation and provocation, and not to take to the streets. Demonstrations and disturbances have claimed many victims and have served, and continue to serve, nobody but bureaucratic, nationalist, and chauvinist forces in Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia.

There is therefore nothing to add to this appeal of the Kosovar students for cool heads and vigilance on the part of everybody, especially children and young people, and to beware of traps of disinformation and provocation, even though these provocations may be inhuman acts that stretch the imaginations of even the filthiest and most corrupted of the scriptwriters and protagonists in this psychological war. One can only add the demand that now, tomorrow, and always, people should behave with dignity and not allow anyone to excite the nationalist and chauvinist passions and hysteria that will lead us to the brink of the abyss. This demands special

vigilance, responsibility, and care to ensure that members of other nationalities, especially the Serbs, with whom we are linked in a common destiny, should not have cause for concern.

Similarly, responsible work and study, even in these times that threaten a tragedy of the most serious kind, are the best antidote against any poison and the strongest weapon against any black hand seeking to deepen interethnic division in Kosovo.

Meanwhile, the relevant authorities have rightly been asked to investigate this inhuman act and to determinedly and responsibly take the necessary measures to ensure that Kosovo, like every other part of our country, will be effectively protected from disasters of this kind, which every progressive person in today's world condemns.

Serbian Security Units Deployed in Kosovo

LD2603210990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1943 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Gnjilane, 26 Mar (TANJUG)—By order of the Socialist Republic of Serbia president and the republic's International Affairs Secretariat, Serbian Internal Affairs Secretariat units today assumed duties in the militia stations in Gnjilane, Kosovska Vitina, and Kosovska Kamenica. This was announced by Obrad Stevanovic, representative of the Internal Affairs Secretariat of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, at a news conference this evening [26 March].

The units include a large number of militiamen from the Internal Affairs Secretariat of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and some who have thus far been employed by Gnjilane Internal Affairs Secretariat. The newly formed units do not, however, include 69 workers from Gnjilane security center, 10 of whom are of Serbian nationality. Their position will soon be considered, and it is expected that some of them will be sent to militia stations in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Socialist Autonomous Province of Vojvodina.

After legally conducting proceedings, some of these workers will be dismissed from security organs for failure to carry out their official tasks and for a passive attitude. This group includes the commanders of the militia stations in Ogost and Brasaljce.

Albanian Policemen Suspended

LD2603170490 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Differentiation has been carried out in the republican organs of security since the republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Serbia took over police authority in the province. It is primarily militiamen and their seniors of Albanian nationality who are being suspended. The suspension implies the requisition of their pistols, batons, and official identification cards and a ban on staying within the premises of the police stations.

Serbian Assembly Discusses Kosovo

LD2303100490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1651 GMT 22 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 22 Mar (TANJUG)—The Kosovo question was the central issue of today's session of the Serbian Assembly, the question that ended up on the assembly agenda for the third time in the course of the past three months. The delegates were, in fact, considering again the program for implementing peace, freedom, equality, democracy, and prosperity in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the operational plan for carrying out the program's tasks. Those to carry out the tasks are minutely listed and so are the deadlines by which the tasks are to be carried out, a guarantee that this program, unlike many of its precursors, will not remain a mere list of wishes and good intentions.

One should say clearly that Serbia wants neither to terminate nor to minimize Kosovo's autonomy, but Serbia also does not want the provinces within its composition to have the elements of statehood given by the 1974 Constitution. Serbia favors Kosovo's quicker development within its composition and the consolidating of various linking forms, Republican Executive Council President Stanko Radmilovic said in his introductory address at the joint session of all three chambers of the Serbian Assembly. [passage omitted: Serbia will provide for freedom of political association in Kosovo, but it will introduce certain restrictions to prevent political parties from inciting intranational hatred. Radmilovic says Slovenia supports Albanian separatists for it would like to get rid of the country's south while retaining access to its market.]

The Serbian Assembly delegates granted their consent to the SFRY Presidency's proposal for changing the federal Constitution by passing a new one. The introductory address at the joint session on this issue, delivered by Assembly Constitutional Commission member Ratko Markovic, stresses that the proposal has been written by many hands and stems from conceptions of differing ideological origins so its ideological aspect remains inconsistent. Instead of distancing itself from the 1974 Constitution's solutions, for they have disintegrated the state and society, and building a sound and unambiguous constitutional system, the proposal seemingly preserves all those criteria despite its ambitions to erect a whole constitutional building on a different kind of foundation. [passage omitted: proposal is also criticized for enabling those who would like to quit Yugoslavia to do so. Miroslav Miskovic, Republican Executive Council vice president, dwells on the economic situation in Serbia. The increase early this year in personal

incomes is sustained by no corresponding increase in productivity. The Serbian economy is stifled by severe illiquidity.]

In Ratko Markovic's words, a stout resistance will be put up in Serbia to its treatment of the provinces. The republic should not put up with any solution that derives provincial autonomy from territorial autonomy and links it in any way to the federation. The provinces exercise their autonomy within the republic of whose composition they are parts; therefore, as far as their constitutional treatment is considered, they should be a matter of the republic's internal affairs. Provincial laws ought to be in accord with the republican ones and the republic as a state is to exercise its administrative and judicial functions across its entire territory. [passage omitted: the proposal is a minimum required by Yugoslavia's integrity; responsibility for implementing Kosovo program should be established more rigorously]

The delegates of all three chambers elected Momcilo Tajkovic, hitherto secretary of the Pristina LC Municipal Committee, the fifth vice president of the Republican Executive Council. He will be stationed in Pristina. The proposal for Trajkovic's appointment was explained by the fact that the situation in Kosovo requires one member of the republican government to coordinate the implementation of the measures for this province's peace, freedom, democracy, and development.

The Assembly adopted the initiative for declaring 28 March, the day the changes to the republican Constitution were adopted, a state holiday. Since two chambers have decided that this date should be a working day and one decided that it should be a non-working day, enterprises are free to decide how they will mark this date. [passage omitted]

Serbian Renewal Attempts Rally in Belgrade

AU2403202390 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] At about 1800, members of the Serbian Renewal Movement Party gathered in front of the Prince Mihajlo Monument in the Republic Square in Belgrade with the intention to hold a rally. The attempt ended with brief expressions of dissatisfaction with the situation in Kosovo, and few citizens attended.

Serbia's Milosevic, Defense Secretary Meet

LD2303185290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1552 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 March (TANJUG)—It is vital to adopt the SFRY Constitution as soon as possible and in this way establish the legal and political subjectivity of the Federation, so that it might be able to perform all its functions effectively. This is stressed in a statement from today's talks between Slobodan Milosevic, Presidency president of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and the most senior officials of this republic, and Federal National Defense Secretary Veljko Kadijevic and his colleagues.

The statement says:

Slobodan Milosevic, Presidency president of the Socialis Republic of Serbia, and the most senior officials of the republic had talks today in the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia with Army General Veljko Kadijevic, federal secretary for national defense, and his colleagues.

There was an exchange of views on the current socioeconomic and political situation in the country, implementation of social reforms, questions of the constitutional changes in Yugoslavia, and the problems of the functioning of the Federation.

It was stated on both sides that a way out of the profound social crisis presupposes the consistent and decisive implementation of reforms in the socioeconomic and political system, in which the Socialist Republic of Serbia already has positive results. The effective implementation of an anti-inflation program, accompanied by the development of individual systemic solutions and current economic policy measures, has special significance in this, it was said.

The common stance is that it is vital to adopt the new SFRY Constitution, which will establish the legal and political subjectivity of the Federation as soon as possible so that it might be able to perform its functions effectively in the fields of the economy, freedom and the rights of the individual, national equality, national defense, security, and foreign policy. It is also necessary to speed up the procedure for adopting the constitutinal amendments so that the Federation might be able to function successfully. It was pointed out that any kind of auctioneering over the sovereignty of the SFRY or the taking of other action that contravenes the SFRY Constitution, is impermissible.

In conection with the situation in Kosovo, it was stressed that threats to the constitutional system of Serbia and Yugoslavia will be prevented by all means of the law-governed state. The hosts stated that with the adoption of the constitutional amendments last year in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, the legal and political unity of the republic was achieved, something that created the necessary preconditions for the smashing of Albanian separatism and the prevention of its destructive and terrorist activity in Kosovo.

The participants in the talks agreed in their assessment that the legalization and activity of any political party whose program or practical activlity contains the spreading of racial, religious, intranational, and other intolerance, or leads to the destruction of the sovereignty, territorial integrity, and constitutional setup of the SFRY and the Socialist Republic of Serbia, should not be permitted.

The state of defense preparations and achievements in the development of the territorial defense of Serbia were assessed positively. The hosts on this occasion too expressed their firm support for the development of the Yugoslav People's Army as the united, joint armed forces of all the nations and nationalities, working people, and citizens of the SFRY.

The federal secretary for national defense today otherwise ended his visit to the First Military District.

Slovene LC Proposes Disbanding LCY

LD2503141990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1011 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 25 March (TANJUG)—The Slovene League of Communists- Party of Democratic Reform Presidium proposes that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] be disbanded and all its organs resign. In its opinion, cooperation should be continued by setting up new coordinating bodies comprising representatives of the parties that stem from the former League of Communists republican organizations. Those bodies should prepare new program bases, organizational solutions, methods of decisionmaking, and the cadre composition of the future combined organs. On that basis it would be realistic to convene a first founding congress or conference of the new organization, which may be called the alliance of the parties for democratic socialism.

These are some of the principal elements of the so-called new Yugoslav policy of the Slovene League of Communists-Party of Democratic Reform that will be offered to this party's Central Committee members at the forthcoming plenum scheduled for 27 March.

The platform also stresses that "Yugoslavia remains our first choice," adding nevertheless that this implies a Yugoslavia that will "secure a sovereign and independent confederal status for the Republic of Slovenia."

The bottom line of the new Yugoslav policy of the Slovene League of Communists-Party of Democratic Reform is cooperation and liaison with "all democratic forces in Yugoslavia," including also those parties stemming from the former League of Communists republican organizations, and new contents of and organizational foundations for linking up the transformed parts of the former LCY.

The Slovene League of Communists-Party of Democratic Reform resolutely opposes the activities attempted by the remnants of the former LCY in continuing the old practices, and outvoting and imposing its will on the parties arising from the republican l gue of Communists organizations. We regard such conduct as an illegal attempt to get hold of political power and influence and material priviliges in a situation where the old LCY ceased to exist while the preconditions for new links on equal terms have not materialized yet, the Slovene League of Communists-Party of Democratic Reform Presidium maintains.

Slovene Candidates Discuss Confederation

AU2303131990

[Editorial Report] Ljubljana DELO in Slovene on 17 March on pages 22, 23 carries answers, totalling 9,000 words, by the 12 candidates running for the seats on the Slovene Presidency, under the title "Programs of the Candidates for Members of the Presidency of the Republic of Slovenia: The 12 Who Aim for the Top." All the candidates have been asked eight questions on the powers of the Presidency, the work of the Presidency, opportunities for a personal contribution, attitude to the confederation or secession, the need for a coalition, privatization of the economy, party interests in the Presidency, and whether Presidency membership should be a full-time job.

The answers to the fourth question, "Your personal attitude on the question of federation—confederation—secession," are herewith quoted in full:

Miroslava Gec-Korosec: "I advocate a confederation with full sovereignty of the Republic of Slovenia as a state, both in respect to international and domestic law."

Matjaz Kmecl asks to be allowed "to answer your eight questions all together and bit by bit," and says that after the elections, the value systems will be subjected to many changes. "In such a situation, the moral authority of the Presidency will be of greater significance than its legal authority, but this latter will be, of course, significant in the process of constitutional changes. The burden of the work will—probably—be tactful and subtle, and entail considerate decision-making in connection with the defense of further democratization, which will have to moderate its euphoria and make sense. It will remain exceptionally vulnerable not only to the great hordes that create the "truth" in Yugoslavia, but also to the domestic manifestations of the traditional and new lack of the state-forming spirit (a great disadvantage compared with Lithuania!). The question of confederation is for the time being just a screen on which all kinds of wishes are projected. The best and realistic solutions will be brought only by internal stabilization, moderation (not only as regards the past, but also the present, as a y of life), and by drawing away from the possibilities of civil war and putsches, and from the frenzy of the initial party contest."

Alojz Krizman: "I think that the Yugoslav problem can no longer be solved with the present form of federation. We must admit that with the present differences, any further insistence on the present federal form is nonsense. One cannot overcome an underdeveloped spirit with funds for underdeveloped regions. However, I do not agree with the present nonsensical and perhaps even fatal electioneering concerning such a fateful question. I must say in this connection that personally I have been most disappointed by the electioneering of the LCS [former initials of the League of Communists of Slovenia]-Party of Democratic Reform in this respect. The struggle for power and playing with the fate of the nation

have nothing in common. If I define confederation as a union of completely sovereign states, a dissolution of the federation is the condition for forming a confederation. A simple dissolution of the federation is probably legally impossible. Therefore, very sober and sensible negotiations are necessary. It is only by dissolving the federation and by the Slovene state gaining full sovereignty that an agreement on a confederation is possible with other sovereign states. I am in favor of a confederation, but only by steps that are thought out and responsible, and are not just irresponsible electioneering."

Franc Miklavcic: "There are only two answers: either confederation or secession. It is up to the other republics or nations in Yugoslavia to accept our offer of confederation if they want the present community of the Yugoslav peoples to remain. I understand a confederation to be a collection of states, a union of states, and not a federal state. Members of a confederation are real states. We do not need any union constitution or union laws. What is sufficient is a mutual treaty between the members of the confederation, which regulates some common affairs and the financial contributions of each member for these common affairs. Such a state treaty must also provide for its voluntary dissolution and the manner this can be achieved."

Peter Novak: "The managing of the state is often quite alien to the Slovenes. This can be seen in the thinking of many who speak about secession or confederation. People do not know that this is a special branch of knowledge and not just a skill.

"My attitude to life in Yugoslavia is well known to all. Everybody should live off his work. The standard of living must be adjusted to the material possibilities of society in which one creates. Because Yugoslavia is a multinational and international (Bosnia-Hercegovina, Serbia) state, this creation of course takes place within the republican borders. Because the problem of ownership of property and capital has not been resolved, one should immediately protect the transfer of money between the republics and the state. Unless one reaches an accord within the federation on basic economic questions (that would make life in a federation possible), the next stage is a confederation, and the last stage, not very likely but possible, is secession. In this case, in my opinion, it is urgently necessary to protect the integrity of the Slovene nation by an international treaty on its present territory, with the existing borders."

Bogdan Oblak: "In addition to the current tasks that the Presidency is performing, its work in the transitional period will be centered above all on preparing and verifying alternative strategies of the transition to new relations in the SFRY, including drafting a plan for a complete secession of Slovenia. The strategies for the changes of relations in the SFRY must be thoroughly and comprehensively prepared in advance, with all the good and bad points, and they must be carefully weighed even before they are discussed in the assembly and even more before they are implemented. It is a matter of sensitive questions regarding the Army, the currency, money, and the taxation system. It will probably be necessary to solve some questions through neutral world arbitration.

My sphere of work will be, above all, the monetary and the fiscal systems. The distribution of the internal and external debts, which will probably occur, will be the hardest nut to crack during the negotiations. The state of the monetary system in Yugoslavia is so critical that we should even now begin working on our own currency, and later a neutral bank outside the system of the National Bank of Yugoslavia should issue banknotes in our own currency. The rescue of the banking system in Yugoslavia as a whole is probably not possible without enormous help from abroad, which however would constitute a tremendous burden in the future and lead to a tremendous redistribution of capital in Yugoslavia, chiefly at Slovenia's expense.

"The Republic of Slovenia must decide in a sovereign way on all the essential elements of statehood, including the matters of defense and the monetary and taxation systems. Here I think that the republic should also have in its hands all the machinery needed to implement these systems, which means the rights to issue its own money, to command the military in the republic, and impose and collect taxes. It should transfer to the federal institutions only those tasks that it would be uneconomical to perform in the republic, and only those for which we obtain clear assurances that they will be ordered at the federal level in the way agreed upon by treaty, laws, or assembly resolution. The highest decision-making authorities must unconditionally remain in the republics."

Ivan Oman: "Federation—confederation—secession? Even two years ago I said in an interview for TELEKS that Yugoslavia is acceptable for us only as a democratic confederation. I have in mind a union of sovereign states, each with their own armed forces, which however may be linked together. However, the armed forces in the territory of a republic must be under its authority and under its command. If a joint state of Yugoslavia is not able to guarantee a firm currency, I am in favor of our own currency unit."

Dusan Plut: "With the state of emergency in Kosovo, the Serbian blockade, and the interethnic and interrepublican quarrels, the Yugoslav federation is in fact a dead letter on yellowing paper. In my opinion, a confederal rearrangement into a union of states or sovereign republics is the last chance for Yugoslavia. If there is no opportunity or suitable partners for such a radical rearrangement, only the Lithuanian road remains open for Slovenia. Of course, such a decision includes all the unknowns and risks, but is aimed at establishing a sovereign state of Slovenia in the newly arising United States of Europe as a European confederation. The citizens of Slovenia should decide their fate at a referendum during the spring elections."

Dimitrij Rupel: "The center of the work of the new Presidency should be the following: to ensure as peaceful transition as possible from the federation and to negotiate a new formula for coexistence among nations that live in Yugoslavia; to make the initiative for a really democratic and pluralist government of the Slovene republic; to take the initiative for constituting a new Slovene military setup; and to take the initiative for constituting a new foreign political setup, which is to say a Slovene foreign ministry. In addition, the Presidency should settle affairs in the Slovene interior ministry, and make matters crystal clear. It should examine the work of the state security services (plural) and abolish the political police. It should immediately abolish the secret issues of the SFRY Official Gazette, annul the legal acts emanating from them, and ban the work of state organs based on secret legal regulations, internal instructions, etc., which have never been published. In this request, I am supported by the stands of the Citizens' Forum for the Abolition of Secret Legislation.

"I see an opportunity to make my own personal contribution in the field of foreign policy of sovereign Slovenia, and in the fields of culture and perhaps science.

"My personal attitude to a confederation and secession is briefly the following: I think that it is first necessary to dismantle the present federation (to implement Slovene self-determination), so that we may afterward—if possible and desired—set up a contractual community of the peoples of Yugoslavia, which could be a confederation."

Bostjan M. Zupancic: "I have a very flexible attitude on the question of a federation or confederation or secession. It is my position that it is not sensible to make any radical moves at a stormy time like the present, when political rationality and pragmatism do not reign in Serbia; secession is not a political or economic, but above all a historical question. The answer should be based on a review of all the Slovene past, and at the same time on the long-term prospects of the Slovene future. In the present situation, all three possibilities may be considered, and secession is possible as the last resort."

Ciril Zlobec: "There seems no sense in wasting words about the federation. The present Serbian policy has buried it definitely and completely. Hopes about it are quite atavistically embedded (only verbally?) in a majority of the federal political bodies, as well as some republican bodies, which creates a curious parallelism in our public life, paralyzing in advance any attempt at any effective state and social reform; the executive power, the Constitution, the legislation, the Army, etc., insist on the concept of an idealized federation (brotherhood and unity, although we are fighting among ourselves like black and red ants), which means the federation as a fetish, which is supposed to be an a priori value for all the times and situations, while the relations among the republics are barely confederal, completely severed in many respects, and only state coercion continues to maintain them. Now almost all of us distinguish ourselves by denying each other. This is a vicious circle of political paranoia. Slovenia should define itself critically and responsibly, as soon as possible and without any feeling of guilt, but also without complacent euphoria, to say what we actually are and what we may become. From then on, the thinking about a confederation or secession would be much more fruitful and realistic, and less polemically politicized for the day-to-day needs of one person or another. The question is at least as professional as it is political. In any case it is very serious and responsible."

Slavoj Zizek: "It is clear to everybody now that Yugoslavia is dead, and that it lives only because it won't admit it is dead. Those chiefly responsible for its death are precisely those who most vociferously offer to save it and who discover 'separatists' or 'nationalists' everywhere, and they are the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav People's Army, above all. The condition for its possible survival as a confederation is that these two powers should disappear from the political scene and that they be supplanted by democratically elected representatives of all the peoples. It will then perhaps be possible to conclude an agreement of sovereign states about their common performance of some affairs that concern economic cooperation, etc. I see the future Yugoslavia more as a kind of Benelux, an economic union, which would help all its members to mitigate the catastrophic consequences of an excessively rapid inclusion in international competition.

"Anyhow, I think that the slogan that is much bandied about these days, about 'Politics as an art of the possible,' has now lost its meaning; we live in a time when the 'impossible' must be waged and resolute steps must be taken: All the federal regulations unacceptable to democratically elected Slovene authorities should be unilaterally annulled, etc. He who wisely waits for the 'right moment,' not only never catches it, but also suddenly discovers that the game has been decided without him."

Coalition Opposes Istrian Autonomy

LD2503091590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2132 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Pazin, 24 Mar (TANJUG)—Istria is a region of Croatia and only its people, together with others, will decide with whom they wish to enter Europe, and all those who advocate autonomy must be conscious of the danger it brings—and this is, above all, the awakening of irredentism and or a retrograde consciousness. This was said by Dr. Savka Dapcevic-Kucar at this evening's public forum of the Coalition of National Accord at which Dragutin Haramija and other guests and hosts of this preelection meeting also spoke.

Speaking in the packed hall of the Pazin Memorial Center of Unity and Freedom about Istria as being a special kind of window onto Europe, Dr. Savka Dapcevic-Kucar stressed that it [Istria] should enter Europe, but together with Croatia. In her address, which was frequently interrupted by applause, she stressed the

orientation for a Croatia of authentic sovereignty with the right to self-determination, including secession.

Roundup of Election Campaign in Croatia

LD2503083990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1955 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 24 (TANJUG)—[The] election campaign ahead of the first multi-party elections in Yugoslavia's republic Croatia in April is gaining momentum.

In the Adriatic city of Split, a large communist meeting was held, having also its dramatic episode with a false telephone tip about a bomb allegedly planted in the congress hall of the Marjan Hotel. At their meeting, the communists summed up that the April elections should make democracy triumphant.

In a small Croatian town of Zabok, Ivica Racan, chief of the transformed League of Communists of Croatia—Party of Democratic Changes, was speaking about the party's platform and stressed that its political goal was democratic and sovereign Croatia within democratic federal Yugoslavia and inter-nationality tolerance.

At the same time the controversial President of the Croatian Democratic Alliance Franjo Tudjman, one-time general in the Yugoslav Army, in addressing 30,000 [of] his followers in Sinj, was trying to prove that his expressly nationalist party was fighting for democracy and Croatia's entry into Europe.

In the Croatian city of Osijek, a speech was delivered by Mika Tripalo, one-time communist leader replaced in the early 1970s as a nationalist. As the election candidate of the Croatian Coalition of Popular Agreement he also called for democratic and sovereign republic of Croatia. Savka Dapcevic-Kucar and Dragutin Haramija, held election meetings in the Istrian town of Porec.

At the first annual assembly of the Croatian Social-Liberal Alliance, Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic was criticized for what was said to be his warning to the new parties not to abuse their newly-gained political freedom.

Ivan Zvonimir Cicak, one of the protagonists of the nationalist movement in Croatia in the 1970s, today became president of the Croatian Peasants' Party.

In Glina, a meeting was held of the Serbian Democratic Party in Croatia, at which the Serbs (who make up around 20 per cent of the republic's population) called for inter-nationality tolerance.

Magyar People's Party of Croatia Formed

LD2503185290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 25 Mar 90

[Text] The Magyar People's Party of Croatia [Horvatorszaqi Magyar Neppart] has been formed in Yugoslavia. In its program, accepted today, the new party designated the assertion of general human and minority rights, the protection of the environment, and the interests of the private sector as its objectives.

Croatia's Racan on Forthcoming Elections

AU2603074990 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Mar 90 p 3

[M. Krmpotic report: "We Did Not Introduce Democracy With Tanks"]

[Text] Cakovec—Ivica Racan, president of the LCC [former initials of the League of Communists of Croatia]-Party of Democratic Changes [Stranka Demokratskih Promjena] [PDC], as leader of the public debate in the local culture hall on 17 March, at which the LCC-PDC program was presented to the people of Cakovec in Medjumurje, pointed out in his introductory speech that at the 11th LCC Congress we consciously took a major democratic and reformist step forward, and with the motto "We take things seriously" expressed our lasting and long-term commitment to struggle for the good of citizens and democracy. To an overflowing hall and often interrupted by applause, Ivica Racan presented the basic guidelines of the LCC-PDC program and explained that the title "PDC" means that the LCC is no longer a captive to dogmatic tutelage or to eternal truths, especially those have not been borne out by experience.

Racan stressed that democracy, the struggle for freedom, and therefore the socialist idea, were not introduced to our country by tanks or other forces, but were born here, and must therefore remain here. Racan expressed the hope that the people in Croatia will have sufficient strength and determination to give their votes in a multiparty system to democratic forces, which include the LCC-PDC, and not to extreme nationalism of whatever hue, which can only plunge us headlong into the abyss of civil war.

Racan especially stressed that it is impossible to struggle enough for national equality. The LCC-PDC will struggle for national equality in Yugoslavia and for a democratic, federal Yugoslavia in which every people, regardless of their size and characteristics, can and must feel a sense of belonging, satisfied and happy at living in such a Yugoslavia. We are not in favor of a Yugoslavia in which any people may feel insecure, discontented, or unequal because they are less numerous. We must talk about this today, Racan warned, because there are too many one-sided formulas for Yugoslav integration and for more unity. Our party is in favor of Yugoslav integration and more unity, but not of the unity of the hegemony of one over another or of centralism and unitarism. We are consistent in this, and since we are against such a conception of Yugoslavia, we are not in favor of a unitarist conception of Croatia either.

Explaining that the LCC-PDC is no longer the party of old, but is a new one with new ideas and programs which call for people of a new kind, Racan called from the

rostrum of the Cakovec Culture Hall on all who cannot or do not wish to follow the ruling party in its transformation not to impede or hamper it. Racan said that we have nothing against these people, who are so dogmatically dyed in the wool that they resist our democratic program and our political plans, leaving our ranks. Let them leave and form their own genuine party, so that they are no longer under our feet.

Racan said that the LCC-PDC will not be a slave to outworn thinking, and added that it likewise will not be swayed by those who want to return Yugoslavia to the fold like a "lost sheep." We will operate on a Yugoslav level with other reformist and democratic parties, instead of wasting our strength in a vain and useless struggle within the old party that ended its life at the 14th League of Communists of Yugoslavia Congress.

Racan voiced the wish that the LCC-PDC will become part of Europe more than hitherto, and not just any kind of Europe, but one that is democratic and of the left, and in which, fortunately, the communist idea has not yet disappeared in practice. We want to go into Europe, Racan said, just as we want Europe to be built in Croatia and Yugoslavia.

Toward the end of the public debate in Cakovec, Ivica Racan answered some citizens' questions. He replied to the question of what he thought about the word "socialist" being struck out of the title of the republic by saying that it is necessary to free the state from everything ideological. Above all, the police and the Yugoslav People's Army must be depoliticized, or rather be separated from the party. However, we must likewise have sufficient strength to oppose those who, by removing this title, would seek to banish every possible socialist option and alternative from the scene.

In reply to the question of how the Catholic priest Luka Vincetic, although he comes from this region, was put on the list of LCC-PDC candidates for the Assembly, Ivica Racan said that the party's program explicitly states that the party includes people who accept the goals of its program, regardless of their personal and religious beliefs. Through talking to Luka Vincetic, who supports the party's line and policy although he is not a member, I came to the conclusion that there is no reason why a progressive person of left-wing convictions, like the Catholic priest Luka Vincetic, should not be on our list, Racan concluded.

Commentary on Croatian Political Scene

AU2603100990 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 20 Mar 90 p 3

[Peter Potocnik commentary: "After the Attempt on Tudjman's Life"]

[Text] The attempted assassination of Croatian Democratic Community [CDC] President Franjo Tudjman, the events of the last few weeks in the nationally mixed region of Croatia, and the way they are presented in the Serbian media remind one of the times of the attack on Croat Peasant Party leader Stjepan Radic and his associates by Punisa Racic in the National Assembly in Belgrade on 20 June 1928. The consequences of Racic's attack have been felt in Yugoslavia up to the present, and have been particularly felt in Croatia in these election campaign days.

Precisely, this is the essential difference between "our" and "world" assassinations of political, religious, or any other leaders. If Racic's attack was, in fact, a result of the irresolvable contradictions that permeated old Yugoslavia and was the culmination of the political seething at the time in the conflict between official centralism and the opposition resistance against centralism, Cubrilovic's attempt on the life of Tudjman in Benkovac is a result of at least similar if not the same causes. At best we can muse on two differences only: The shots in Belgrade fatally wounded Stjepan Radic and they were fired in the Assembly, and this time the attack happened at an election meeting of one of the legal political parties that, as we know, has been registered for a month and a half. Just as the assassination in Belgrade gave an impetus to the disuniting, separatist movements in Yugoslavia, the great Serbian reaction to the general meeting of Tudjman's party with the assistance of the Serbian media, and especially the Petrova Gora rally at which a multitude of people demanded Tudjman's death, contributed most to the revival of Croat nationalism and to the preelection successes primarily of the nationalist parties, with Tudjman's CDC in the lead.

When after the general meeting of the CDC on 24 and 25 February it appeared that Tudjman's CDC became the lone rider on the Croatian pluralist scene—because of some extremist pro-Ustasha speeches by guests from abroad, the tasteless decorations employing old symbols, the reactionary attitude to women and to the Independent State of Croatia, in brief, because of looking back instead of clearly looking to the future—the Petrova Gora meeting and the attempted assassination made it regain its lost votes with interest. Even the Dinamo and Hajduk [soccer team] fans carried identical banners at the match at the Split Poljudo stadium: "We are for the CDC."

So soon after the events in Benkovac, it is difficult to say whether the Coalition of National Understanding of the six opposition parties and nonparty members headed by Savka Dabcevic-Kucar also gained some points. It is quite clear that the Benkovac police was put to shame there because it allowed the CDC election meeting to be disturbed from the very beginning by insulting calls of Serbian extremists, under old Serbian flags and Milosevic's pictures, who pelted the audience and the guests at the tribune with eggs, bottles, and stones. At the same time, it is absolutely clear that now before the elections and perhaps for quite a time afterward, the activities of the coalition against the left and the right extremists, to ensure a quiet transition from the Bolshevik to a democratic, multiparty pluralist system may be more necessary than it appeared on 1 March when the

coalition was formed. With an efficient convention, which matched the level of conventions of respected Western democratic parties, the coalition on 17 March presented itself to the public in the overflowing hall of the Zagreb Cibona basketball club, so that even the connoisseurs were astonished. It displayed no banners and no signs and pictures reeking of mothballs, such as accompany Serbian meetings, as well as public appearances of Tudjman's party.

However, Yugoslav history is repeating itself in the Croatian arena, although the events here, too, are shifted more to the side of processes and chain reactions than in the past. Perhaps the scales have inclined too much toward analyzing the masses, but it is quite certain that we will not regain equilibrium if we go back to some preceding value. Because of such going back to the past, many people have lost their mind, among them Bosko Cubrilovic, until then an unknown pensioner, who intended to kill Tudjman with his pistol. What is disappearing with the introduction of the political multiparty system is perhaps history, contradictory past. Therefore, the attempted assassination in Benkovac was not accidental. The question is only who will draw what conclusion from it for the affirmation of the highest values, so that they will cease to be a source of dangers that have been a constant companion of Yugoslavia from its creation up to the present time.

Croatian Parties Present Program

AU2603144090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Mar 90 p 3

[G. Gojak report: "Decorated in Old Symbols"]

[Text] Zagreb—The fact that party life in the Socialist Republic of Croatia is well and truly blossoming in the preparations for the first multiparty elections could best be seen over the weekend. In Zagreb alone, 17 March saw action by the Croatian Peasants Party and the Croatian Party, as well as by the Coalition of National Understanding. First of all, the Croatian Peasants Party founded their Zagreb branch and the Croatian Party presented its electoral program at the already habitual discussion forum in the Zagreb Cultural-Information Center.

The founding assembly of the Zagreb branch of the Croatian Peasants Party proceeded with its members settling old scores, which was manifested in Ivan Zvonimir Cacak being challenged as its vice president and in the question of whether the Croatian Peasants Party should join the Coalition or not. The accusations that the members were leveling at each other cast a shadow over the celebratory atmosphere of this founding meeting, which was decorated with old party symbols with obvious nationalist connotations. The mutual conflicts and quarrels that arose in the Croatian Peasants Party after decisions made at some of its meetings, where some of its members and even Vice President Cicak were suspended, will be resolved, as announced, at a great meeting of all branches of the Croatian Peasants Party *on 24 March*.

At the second meeting—for the presentation of the Croatian Party—those present could find out that this party's program is based on Starcevic's and Radic's political legacy and a demand for "total freedom for the Croatian people" and for it to have its own people on its own territory with a lasting and general pardon. [sentence as published] Apart from this, the party is launching the initiative for Croatia to enter the United Nations because the right of the Croatian people to secession and association is inviolable. It is also demanding full sovereignty over the human assets of Croatia, particularly since "abortion would be banned" in a state in which the Croatian Party came to power. All this was said to those present by Croatian Party President Dr. Hrvoje Sostaric, Ante Korljan, its vice president for the South, and members Josip Zivkovic, Zdenka Loza, and Mata Brajkovic. All in all, this was so serious a gathering that an outside observer had the impression that they were at some theater production; both cases show that power is a very attractive "pleasure" that could—if the citizens allowed it—toy not only with the citizens themselves but with all their values.

Goldstein Outlines Croat Coalition Plans

AU2303152190 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 18 Mar 90 p 9

[Interview with Slavko Goldstein, Council of the Croatian Social Liberal Alliance president, by Zoran Daskalovic and Dragan Djuric; place and date not given: "We Are Not Burdened by Any Sins"]

[Excerpts] [VJESNIK] What are the basic motives for the Croatian Social Liberal Alliance [CSLA] to join the Coalition of National Understanding [Koalicija Narodnog Sporazuma]?

[Goldstein] They are very simple: We want to win the elections. We know that we cannot do so having this confusing multitude of parties, but we are convinced that we can win when united into a strong bloc of the democratic center. Its core is formed by five traditional and very distinctive parties: the Social Democrats, the Christian Democrats, the Liberals, the Peasants Party (HSS), and the Democratic Party with its strong national charge (HDS) [Hrvatska Demokratska Stranka-Croatian Democratic Party]. Therefore, we are addressing the broadest spectrum of democratically oriented voters, all those who are resolutely supporting changes, but changes that will be made in a peaceful and reasonable way. We had enough of revolutionary tremors and of one-sided views imposed upon us, be they totalitarian or hegemonic. Together, as a coalition, we will be able to oppose all that more successfully, to solidify the sovereignty of the Republic of Croatia and ensure stability: a peaceful period of transition toward democracy.

A Ticket for Savka

[VJESNIK] Why have you formed the coalition with these particular parties and nonparty personalities and not some others?

[Goldstein] It is because these parties' programs are closest to us. As concerns the nonparty personalities who joined us—Savka [Dabcevic-Kucar], Miko [Tripalo], [Dragutin] Haramija, [Ivan] Supek, and Srecko Bijelic—their leading role in the coalition has from the very beginning shown itself to be a real blessing: We are functioning in a much more harmonious way and people know us much better. Those people's past reputation and influence are of a priceless value to us, particularly after their recent public statements that showed that they have completely freed themselves from certain communist prejudices of past times. Today, I was at the ticket office of the Cibona Sports Hall where they were selling two kinds of tickets: for Djordje Balasevic's concert and for the first preelection meeting of the Coalition of National Understanding. I heard the following dialogue there:

"Two tickets please."

"For Balasevic or for Savka?"

"For Savka."

[VJESNIK] You have presented the coalition's political principles as a minimal political program that was agreed upon by consensus and that the signatories are going to comply with during the elections. What were the socially relevant questions that the coalition could not agree upon?

[Goldstein] For example, the Social Democrats laid more stress on social programs, while we, that is, the Liberals, as well as the HDS insisted more on free entrepreneurship as the main moving force of economic recovery that acquires new wealth and only then makes real social programs possible. After a long debate, it turned out that some orientations were nevertheless quite similar and that some differences in details became obvious only when one compared party programs. The main thing is that there is mutual understanding and tolerance. I think that political dialogue, something we did not have before, is now developing within the Coalition.

[VJESNIK] Will the signers of the Political Principles still be still obliged to it if the coalition wins the elections?

[Goldstein] Our political principles, as well as the first 10 points of our first public announcement, are of such a character that they in fact oblige us to act together until the new constitution of the Republic of Croatia is adopted, that is, until democracy is established in Croatia. That means a big joint effort and when we complete it, then we have our main purpose fulfilled. What comes after that is a completely new situation, that is, a new period of our political life and it is difficult to predict the way the coalition will be formed or reformed then. However, I do not think it will disappear, at least not from the point of view of us Liberals who have the purpose and tradition of being initiators and catalysts of coalitions in many countries.

Communists in the Opposition

[VJESNIK] One of your principles is that you are nobody's political enemy. On the other hand, you by no means want a coalition with the LCC [former initials of the League of Communists of Croatia]-Party of Democratic Changes [Stranka Demokratskih Promjena].

[Goldstein] Coalitions of opposition parties are formed with a view to changing parties in power, particularly in the cases such as ours when a party has been holding power for far too long and its results, particularly in the last decade, were increasingly poorer. Hence, a coalition of opposition parties and the Communists would simply be senseless. The Communists must realize that they have been in power for far too long and that it is high time they went into opposition. That would certainly cure them from many diseases that have been burdening them. And then, who knows, once they are in the opposition, other opposition parties may form a coalition with them against some future government. These are those constant changes of power without any social turbulence and bad feelings, changes that are the main condition to solving stagnation and crisis and a prerequisite for continuous progress.

[VJESNIK] In electoral systems based on absolute majority, coalitions are as a rule formed only at the second round of elections. Why have you then formed the Coalition of National Understanding already now?

[Goldstein] We have done so because we want to win as many votes as possible in the first round and not only in the second. Moreover, our coalition has not been formed only because of the elections, but has a principled, that is, probably lasting character.

[VJESNIK] Is there any chance of your forming a coalition with the Croatian Democratic Community in the second round of elections?

[Goldstein] I do not think there will be a coalition of our entire parties, but there is obviously a possibility that branches in individual electoral units may agree about extending joint support to a candidate with best chances if he enjoys the confidence of most parties. This does not apply only to the coalition's relationship toward the Croatian Democratic Community, but also toward other parties and independent candidates. After all, this is inevitable in the case of territorial electoral systems and the second round of elections.

Candidates Will Have a Decisive Role

[VJESNIK] In their basic principles, all parties' programs are very similar. Do you think that these programs will play a decisive role when voters make their decisions, or will something else play that role?

[Goldstein] I think that there are also some very basic differences in programs, because some of them are still reflecting a totalitarian consciousness. However, I agree that voters have no time, or perhaps no desire either, to find those differences. I believe that they will be making up their minds more according to the confidence they have in an individual candidate and the general characteristics of the list for which the candidate is running. The people will simplify everything to make it easily identifiable. For example, the complicated name the LCC-Party of Democratic Changes will be simply called "the Communists" or "Racan's list," the Croatian Democratic Community will be "Tudjman's list," the Greens will be the Greens, we will simply be "the Coalition" or "Savka's list." Then we shall see who will gain more confidence.

[VJESNIK] You have voiced some criticism about election commissions. What was it about?

[Goldstein] In many communes, these commissions have been set up without any consultations with opposition parties and without those opposition parties being adequately represented. We have been given assurances by the respective republican bodies that in such cases, one will appoint people from opposition parties deputy members of election commissions or some other way will be found to make it possible for our representatives to be present during elections or when votes are counted. It is in fact the other kinds of inequality that bother us more: lack of our own rooms, telephones, and money. Communists and socialists have all that, they have acquired it undeservedly, but I would still not like to be in their shoes. The results of their rule represent a millstone round the neck of new swimmers swimming under the same symbols. [passage omitted]

[VJESNIK] Would you please explain your stand that you are not against Yugoslavia, but that do not support it at any cost, either, together with another stand—also yours—that you are against any changes to internal and external Yugoslav borders?

[Goldstein] Changing republican borders in Yugoslavia under present circumstances means civil war and by no means do we want that. This is why we advocate equal rights: All rights are to be given to Serbs and members of other peoples in Croatia, but also all rights are to be given to Croats beyond the borders of the Republic of Croatia. As far as Yugoslavia is concerned, it has been going through grave turbulence, the result of which cannot be clearly foretold. A one-party communism has established itself in one republic, and two other republics are setting up multiparty democracy. I do not see how one can establish any coexistence of these two systems without serious frictions.

A favorable outcome can be expected only if democracy with parliaments and governments elected in a free and democratic way is established in all Yugoslav republics. Only then can one expect a reasonable and tolerant dialogue about how to redefine Yugoslavia. In the opposite case, that is, if there is no equal democracy in the whole of Yugoslavia, then the most acceptable way out would probably be either to set a confederation or find an independent way for every republic into the future confederal Europe that is obviously being formed. The further development of the political situation in East European countries, particularly the neighboring countries will certainly have some influence. Yugoslavia has stopped being a fetish, just as socialism, self-management, and the like have also stopped being fetishes. Yugoslavia can survive only as a result of a new democratic agreement based on each republic's right to self- determination.

Only Democracy Can Be a Fetish

[VJESNIK] Does that mean that interrepublican borders are no longer fetishes either?

[Goldstein] They are not, but touching into them from any side would be fatal. I would only like to add here that it came to all this because there was no democracy. A democratic society solves open questions in a gradual manner, therefore, not suddenly, but gradually. A totalitarian regime suppresses them and they therefore accumulate, aggravating to the bursting point and once they do burst, they seem insoluble. Then there is a catastrophe.

[VJESNIK] Does it not seem to you that all the interrepublican moot points have also become moot points between the newly formed political parties in different communities?

[Goldstein] That is only partly true. It can apply to parties that support extremist views about interethnic disputes. However, there are some opposite examples, such as the Democratic Forum in Belgrade with a declaration I would also sign, including the stands on interethnic relations in Yugoslavia and possibilities for future Yugoslavia. I believe that the new democratic parties will find it easier to agree with each other than the Communists in different republics. [passage omitted]

[VJESNIK] Is it true that you will resign as president of the CSLA Council, and if it is, why are you doing so?

[Goldstein] I will not tender my resignation, I will simply not stand as candidate at the forthcoming annual assembly, and that is an essential difference. If I am elected, I would like to remain only a member of the CSLA Council and deal in what we in the party call publishing activity, in fact my profession. In this way I am fulfilling the promise I made at the first meeting of the CSLA Initiative Group that I will accept presidential duties only until parties are legalized i.e. registered. [passage omitted]

Croatian Coalition Holds Election Rally

AU2303134090 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 18 Mar 90 p 3

[Zoran Draskalovic, Vjekoslav Krsnik, and Branko Podgornik report: "Warm Heart, Sober Reasoning, and Wise Conduct"]

[Excerpts] Zagreb—The Croatian Coalition of National Understanding started its election campaign in front of a crowd of almost 7,000 people in the Cibona Hall last Saturday. The coalition consists of five political parties and five independent individuals who were removed from the political life of Croatia in 1971. When the Coalition representatives appeared on the stage, the hall, which was filled to the last place, started to reverberate with the thunderous rounds of applause. In the atmosphere full of expectations, the only banner indicating that this was a preelection campaign was a banner placed to the left of the rostrum. It read: "Coalition, Democracy, Croatia." On the opposite side there were the flags of the SFRY, the Socialist Republic of Croatia, Zagreb, and Cibona [a local basketball team].

Applause for the "First Rose"

When Relja Basic, chairman of this big gathering, announced the first speaker, Mika Tripalo, presenting him as a candidate of the Coalition who does not belong to any party, the hall again started to reverberate with loud applause with which the citizens also interrupted other speakers after every few sentences. Savka Dabcevic-Kucar was greeted with the loudest applause. She was the last to appear on the rostrum accompanied by chants of recognition and the cheers "Long Live the First Rose of Croatia," which gradually turned into another round of applause.

"I greet you at this crucial historic time," Mika Tripalo addressed the audience, stressing that "in the past we were held together by beliefs and hopes that we can be ourselves and free." Many times we wanted to go forward and many time we were stopped. People were not even allowed to sing about their homeland or think freely. A gloomy life, a life full of anxiety does not suit this beautiful and rich country. In the present situation, Tripalo said, everybody must know that by keeping silent he is actually helping his opponents and that there will be no freedom if we do not fight for it. After 1971, many people in Croatia were forced to be silent, Tripalo said, and thanked all those who helped to use this historic opportunity, as he said, for the benefit of our dear homeland of Croatia.

Without Revanchism

We have now formed the Coalition of National Understanding that consists of the Croatian Christian Democratic Party, the Social Democratic Party of Croatia, the Croatian Democratic Party, the Croatian Social Liberal Alliance, and the Croatian Peasant Party, as well as some people who were removed from the political life in 1971. Stressing that the coalition is open, Tripalo said that its main aim—despite the extenuating difficulties posed by the Law on Elections, the unequal status of the parties, and so forth—is to enter the Assembly and adopt a new constitution. By voting for the candidates of the Coalition of National Understanding, you will be voting for all of us, Tripalo said, asking the people to elect the people who can be trusted. [passage omitted]

Except Criminals and Terrorists

If you do not want a civil war and clashes, then you will vote for the candidates of the Coalition of National Understanding, Tripalo said. We are fighting for a democratic, sovereign Croatia. Tripalo then explained how the Coalition sees Croatia and its place in Yugoslavia in which all republics should be sovereign and in which they would all agree about the house they want to live in. He then stressed that the coalition is against the changes of Yugoslavia's borders, the borders between the republics, and the creation of autonomous regions in Croatia, whether Serbian or Istrian. The coalition is against the infringements of Bosnia-Hercegovina and Muslims. For us, the independent state of Croatia was a fascist creation, Tripalo said, stressing that those who are trying to hide this fact are broadening the front of the Croatian people's opponents.

The Coalition is paying special attention to relations between Croats and Serbs. The Serbs must be equal to Croats in everything, but must not threaten the interests of the Croats. We are in favor of all our emigrants returning home, except criminals and terrorists.

In order to create a state governed by the rule of law, Tripalo continued, party organizations must be removed from all state organs, the police, the Army, judiciary, and the media. He said that he hoped that this demand will be understood by the police and the Army. [passage omitted]

Coalition's Face

The second speaker, Vladimir Veselica, addressed those present on behalf of the Croatian Democratic Party, saying that the Coalition will do its utmost to make every citizens of Croatia enjoy its beauty and feel happy that he lives in it. We will do everything in our power to win the elections because the fate of Croatia is at stake. We believe that the conscience of the citizens of Croatia has reached such a level that our citizen would not want to miss the opportunity to play their trump cards for the future of Croatia. We do not need arms, but peace and democracy. The fate of us and our beautiful Croatia depends on our decisions, Veselica concluded.

Speaking on behalf of the Social Democratic Party of Croatia, its president, Dr. Antun Vujic, stressed that the place of social democracy in Croatia is among its peoples. Today, social democracy is present in the Coalition, tomorrow it will be present in the Croatian Assembly, and in the future it will be present in a free and democratic Croatia. [passage omitted]

The Croatian Peasant Party Will Not Boycott Elections

The Croatian Peasant Party recently joined the coalition, party Vice President Jure Sonje stressed at the beginning of his speech. The statements to the public made by some representatives that the Croatian Peasant Party will boycott the elections were not discussed by the party. The members of the party demanded that the Croatian Peasant Party join the Coalition and take part in the elections. Therefore, joining the Coalition represents the wish of our membership. [passage omitted]

Our aim is the adoption of a new constitution that will ensure the sovereignty of Croatia in the state of Yugoslavia. When in 1992 Europe organizes itself as a confederal Europe, we will make sure that Croatia joins this confederation independently, Sonje concluded.

Transformation of Homeland

Ivan Cesar, Croatian Christian Democratic Party president, first of all recalled that the Croatian Peacemaking Movement has also joined the Coalition. We want to operate on the basis of Christian democratic principles and to transform our homeland in the same way. The way we see the world is based on the motto: "Do not do unto others what you would not have others do unto you." [passage omitted]

The Election of Authorities

Bozo Kovacevic, Executive Council president of the Croatian Social Liberal Alliance, told the present that the election race had started and that the citizens should be the main victors. Up to now, you have not been electing authorities. Instead of authorities serving us, we have been serving them, Kovacevic said prompting a loud round of applause. [passage omitted] Concluding his speech Kovacevic said: "The victory of the Coalition of National Understanding will also be your victory."

Borrowed From Successors

Greeted with tempestuous applause, Savka Dabcevic-Kucar, addressed those present as "dear friends" and said that she hoped that her colleagues from the coalition of the parties would not mind if she made a personal remark. Since this was the first time in 19 years that she had had the opportunity to speak, she thanked the citizens of Zagreb for their support and understanding that made her feel as if she had not been alone for all those years. But we will not look back, Savka Dabcevic-Kucar continued. In everyday life there is always a turning point. And we have just reached this point. After 50 years we face the first free, multiparty election. We, nonparty, independent members have joined the coalition wanting a democratic and Croatian option to win and to elect the best representatives to its Assembly. I am here before you as a nonparty member, on my own, and I plead with you to vote for the candidates of the coalition.

Let us accept the wisdom and understand that we have not been given this country by our ancestors, but that we have borrowed it from our successors, and let us do everything we can to make it happy, she said. The Croatian dimension of the coalition's program is characterized by its aims. These are: the original Croatian sovereignty together with the unexhausted right to self-determination including secession; an integral Croatia; a civil state governed by the rule of law; a multiparty and parliamentary system; we want to freely use generated wealth; we want to be the owners of our home; we want all occupants of our home to live on equal footing regardless of their national or other affiliation; we want a civilized house order in our home. We do not want a closed Croatia, but a Croatia that will be open toward other republics, other countries, to modern processes, new technologies, new knowledge....

Abolition of Political Police

As the limit to the freedom of Croats and Croatia is the limit to the freedom of Serbs and other peoples in Croatia, we demand the same rights for the Croats in other republics so that they can preserve their cultural and historic identity. And just as the home that I have spoken about is big enough for all of its occupants, it is also big enough to accommodate all the Croats who have emigrated. We are looking forward to their return. Freedom either exits or it does not. Nobody must be discriminated against in Croatia. Therefore, the coalition demands that all institutions in Croatia be freed of any ideologies. It is necessary to depoliticize and free of ideologies education, the police, and the Army. We do not need a political police. The Security Service should come under the control of the state governed by the rule of law. We do not want to feel fear because we think differently. We want a society in which we will be able to breath freely, in which we will be able to say what we think freed of fear and hatred, Dabcevic-Kucar said.

Without Kosovization of Croatia

If the coalition wins, we guarantee you that Croatia will not be a battlefield for anybody's aspiration, even less so for somebody's attempts to Kosovize Croatia. The coalition will know how to ensure a peaceful and harmonious life to all of its citizens, regardless of their national or other affiliations. The coalition is not a priori against Yugoslavia, this will depend on what Yugoslavia will look like. We can make progress only through true democracy. The decision about this will be made by a legally elected Assembly of Croatia respecting the principle of the full sovereignty of the republic.

Coalition and Reforms

In continuation, Savka Dabcevic-Kucar said that the coalition will soon inform the public about its views on reforms, saying that the current crisis is not a transient phenomenon but an expression of a collapse of state

socialism, which means that the economic crisis cannot be solved only as an economic crisis but also as a general crisis. [passage omitted]

Spring Full of Promises

At the end of her speech, Savka Dabcevic-Kucar said that many of those who are bound to lose their monopolistic position through the elections are spreading fear of changes. The coalition does not want to contribute to the intensification of the atmosphere during the election campaign and categorically states that it is against all kinds of revanchism and that if offers a peaceful transition into a democratic society. Do not be afraid of the uncertainty of the future that we are offering, the danger lies in the crisis-ridden presence. We want to have cultured and correct relations with our rivals.

Before us is a spring full of promises, let us turn it into reality. Let us therefore jointly fight for a free, sovereign, democratic, technologically advanced, socially just, developed, and modern Croatia, Savka Dabcevic-Kucar concluded her speech, which was greeted with a tempestuous applause of approval and support.

Macedonian Human Rights Forum Founded

LD2503083390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1650 GMT 24 Mar 90

[Summary] Skopje, 24 March (TANJUG)—The Macedonian Forum for Human Rights was founded in Skopje today. Tomislav Cokrevski was elected president of the forum. It will strive to exercise its moral influence in the political, judicial, cultural, and other areas. One of its prime concerns will also be the protection of the Macedonian minority's national rights in Bulgaria, Albania, and Greece.

New 'Rumors' About Date for LCY Congress

LD2603180390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1031 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Zoran V. Sekulic commentary]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 26 Mar (TANJUG)—Rumors have "leaked" through the locked door of the federal party leadership that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee plenum, already postponed twice and heralded as the one that would resolve the fate of the congress, might be convened on 30 March. There is no official information about it just as there was no information or statement after the announcements that the plenum was going to be convened first on 1 March and then on 22 March [words indistinct] unsubstantiated rumors about a new date [words indistinct].

Nevertheless, if the date is correct after all, the question remains whether this date is being kept secret because of disagreements about the character and prospects of the congress or whether some "new" disputes have been introduced. In either case, the threat looms large that the plenum will be postponed for a third time so it is probably thought better not even to announce that the planned date is 30 March.

A pretext for stepping up "the new disputes" has recently been given by Krstan Malesevic, a member of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists [LC] Central Committee Presidium and the working group for the preparation of the Extraordinary 14th LCY Congres, who stated that "the LCY Central Committee is not capable of organizing one LCY Central Committee session, let alone preparing the continuation of the adjourned congress or perhaps a new one." In his interview with OSLOBODJENJE of Sarajevo, Malesevic maintains that the LCY Central Committee Presidium should resign and after that a new working group should be set up "that would prepare the congress." [passage omitted: Malesevic expresses the views of his organization's membership; Petar Gosev, head of the Macedonian LC regards the present LCY Central Committee as remnants of the LCY leadership. He maintains that the Macedonian LC has already started reforming itself]

In such a situation it is an undisputable fact that from day to day the Communist membership at the federal level is in ever greater dissaray. Its center is hovering helplessly in the vacuum while the republican organizations are more or less inexorably proceeding toward their own independence. Whether this will be an end in itself or whether a new integration into some new party is imminent, it is hard to tell.

During all this time, the LCY Central Committee Presidium has been in session behind the closed doors, sometimes issuing statements and sometimes not. Regardless of all the differences among the Communists in Yugoslavia, and they are not just a matter of whether the congress should be resumed or whether it should be "set" as a new (regular) one, the true state of affairs must nevertheless be objectively acknowledged. It remains to be seen whether this will take place on 30 March or else on some other occasion, for constant postponoments add up only to "a silent demise."

Further on Plenum

LD2603190690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1247 GMT 26 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 26 (TANJUG)—It has been learned from the Yugoslav party top that the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee plenum at which the fate of the resumption of the LCY congress is to be finally decided, could take place next Friday, March 30.

The LCY congress was interrupted on January 24 after the LC of Slovenia delegation left the congress. It is uncertain whether the congress will be resumed. The LCY Central Committee plenum which should have given the answer, has already been twice convened and put off without an explanation.

The Slovenia Communists have in the meantime left the federal party and formed an independent organisation—a Democratic Reform Party. The Presidency of Slovenian Communists yesterday proposed the disbanding of the LCY. They also consider that cooperation should be continued by forming new coordinating bodies made up of parties developed from the former republic LC's.

The question of the LCY Central Committee Presidency legitimacy and the LCY Central Committee is being opened.

A Bosnia-Herzegovina LC Central Committee Presidency member assessed a few days ago that the incomplete LCY CC Presidency is neither capable of organising an LCY CC session, nor of preparing the LCY Congress resumption.

At a press conference last week LC of Macedonia President Petar Gosev said that he has "written off" the incomplete LCY CC Presidency, describing it as "The remainder of the LCY leadership".

Markovic Addresses Scientists on Restructuring

LD2503044990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1638 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—We are in the transition period from the system of consensus economy to the market economy, and in the phase of creating the appropriate climate and necessary prerequisites. These concern the character of ownership, formation of all market institutions, and a new macroeconomic policy based on the principle of financing from the nonfictious sources.

This, according to the Federal Executive Council [FEC] Secretariat for Information, was stated at the meeting FEC President Ante Markovic and his aides held with scientists. They discussed the problem of restructuring the Yugoslav economy through setting up small-scale and medium-sized enterprises and the introduction of an entrepreneurial culture. From here stems the need for restructuring all segments and sectors of the economy, starting from capital and going all the way to enterprises. Through an industrial policy, the government will facilitate the implementation of the restructuring processes and will promote their intensification. This will create an interaction between unhampered processes in the economy and the government measures.

In the course of this, the FEC president emphasized, we will receive responses about what should be done and how it should be done for administration and management because the FEC will not assume roles that are played by concrete subjects. In order for this process to be carried out, it is important to establish unhampered relations overall.

Since restructuring the economy and creating a new economy, together with restructuring ownership, are two sides of the same process, their implementation creates presuppositions for an optimum way to manage the overall structure, the already-created or to-be-created institutions and businesses, and in the final analysis, the market itself, as well as presuppositions for the optimum use of the know-how we possess. In all this, we already are using world experiences.

As soon as these changes commence, they gain speed, and in doing so, they demand swift responses, so that the agreed-on plans can be translated into concrete projects. Hence, parallel with this, we will work on the creation of an agency for small-scale and medium-sized enterprises and the entrepreneurial spirit, within which the "program of restructuring the Yugoslav economy with the help of small-scale and medium-sized enterprises" will be implemented.

The goal of this program is the formation of an institutionalized infrastructure, and particularly of consultancy, research, engineering, and financial-banking institutions, for the promotion of small-scale and medium-sized enterprises and the stimulation of an entrepreneurial spirit. The demand for these services is enormous, in view of the fact that already 292,000 private individuals have set up enterprises with, on average, one employee. They have expressed their interest in developing into enterprises with 10 to 50 employees.

Next, Markovic stressed, we will deal with enterprises that, in the course of restructuring, inevitably will have to lay off employees. For these capital- unintensive enterprises, we will collect significant funds from savings of our workers temporarily employed abroad. We also count on foreign loans and partners, on funds we can get for this purpose from international financial institutions (including government institutions), on funds from our banking system, and funds from the federal budget, especially the share of the budget earmarked for social programs.

It is important to carry on work along all fronts during this great project in order to create first a single agency, and then more of such agencies. Apart from managerial skills, these agencies also would advise enterprises on how they can become independent in their work. Republics and provinces also will join this program.

In the course of promoting these activities, it is important to concentrate on the creation of small-scale and medium-sized enterprises with 10 to 200 employees, and that these are productive according to world criteria. Only through the elimination of the structural imbalance in the economy, which all participants in the meeting stressed, that is, by the elimination of the "socialist black hole," will it be possible to intensify the restructuring processes and a new wave of employment in a short period of time.

Markovic Discusses Electricity Prices

LD2503001190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1925 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 23 Mar (TANJUG)—In today's talks between Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic and representatives of the Yugoslav electricity supply industry, it was agreed that from 10 April, respecting the pricing schedule, there would be a switch to summer prices for electricity. A decision as to a concrete price, about which departmental secretaries will prepare a proposal, will be considered and adopted at the next FEC session. In this way, the uncertainty surrounding the price of electricity after the winter will be removed.

The request of the Yugoslav electricity supply industry that there be adherence to winter prices during the summer period too—justifying this by the December price freeze—runs counter to the policy conducted by the FEC, as well as to the expectations of major consumers who have worked out their future production-cost calculations on the basis of the summer prices of electricity, Markovic stressed. The population, too, has reacted in line with this. In fact the FEC has received, among other things, a letter from the Presidium of the Belgrade Socialist Alliance of Working People requesting respect for the currently valid pricing schedule. [passage omitted]

Ante Markovic, the FEC Secretariat for Information reports, stressed that there are no shifts in monetary frameworks and price increases, which are under direct control. The implementation of the reforms requires a reexamination and adaptation by all subjects, but the transformation of the Yugoslav electricity supply industry is, therefore, also vital. This sector too, in other words, must obtain real sources of funds. Electricity supply enterprises must resolve their illiquidity problems primarily by calling in their outstanding debts, and they might be able to count on corresponding support in their republics, provinces and municipalities, too.

Newspaper Takes Poll on Country's Name

AU2603082690

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 21 March on page 6 carries a 3,000-word report by Slobodanka Bakic on the results of a poll conducted by the BORBA Research Center concerning the country's name under the title: "The Heart Rejects What Reason Expects."

BORBA used a "standard sample of 300 people, 50 from each of the six republics, that is, 10 from four big cities from each republic plus another 10 from each republic who acted as a control group." The people polled were randomly selected from the telephone directories. The poll was conducted by six researchers, one in each republic. The results of the poll are presented in one bar chart and two tables as follows:

Question 1: "Should one remove the term 'socialist' from the names of other republics (except Slovenia) and Yugoslavia?"

	Yes	No	I do not know	I am indifferent
Bosnia-Hercegovina:	8 [in percentages]	72	20	-
Macedonia:	4	70	24	2
Montenegro:	8	70	22	-
Serbia:	34	40	26	-
Croatia:	32	44	18	6
Slovenia:	68	4	28	-
SFRY:	26	50	23	1

Question 2: "Why yes?"

SFRY	percentages
1. The idea of socialism is obsolete	25
2. Socialism does not exist in our country	19
3. Because of reforms, the introduction of pluralism, the market economy	13
4. The name is not the most important thing	9
5. Socialism has not produced results	8
6. Other reasons	17
7. No reason given	9

Question 3: "Why not?"

SFRY	percentages
1. We are a socialist country and should remain as such	24
2. We fought for socialism and must not forget the victims	14
3. Because of tradition	10
4. We would not gain anything by changing the name	9.5
5. Because the Slovenes want to create a Yugoslavia that would suit their needs	5.5
6. This would lead to the country's disintegration	4
7. Other reasons	14
8. No reason given	19

Commentary on Moscow-Lithuania Problems

LD2403200190 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 23 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] At the end of the Radio Zagreb Daily news international chronicle, we discuss the events in the USSR. With the keenest attention, the world is following

the exacerbation of relations between Moscow and Vilnius, and so far there has not been anyone who can support a USSR decision to use military intervention in Lithuania. Of course, at the moment it is difficult to predict the possible outcome of the crisis, but if Mikhail Gorbachev remains true to himself the worst can be avoided. Milika Sundic comments:

[Sundic] USSR Minister of Foreign Affairs Eduard Shevardnadze two days ago promised his American colleague, James Baker, that Moscow will not use military intervention in Lithuania. But on 22 March, Soviet head of state Mikhail Gorbachev called on Lithuania to stop recruitment of volunteers for the republic's defense. Gorbachev's request is in the nature of an ultimatum, and if something does not change in the next few days, a larger conflict between Moscow and Vilnius could even be possible. The Lithuanian leadership is determined to defend its independence, and every step of the Soviet leadership opposing that will be considered an aggression. It certainly is not easy for Mikhail Gorbachev to come to terms with the newly created situation. Among other things, he cannot go against the Supreme Soviet decree that declared the Lithuanian decision to secede from the USSR illegal. But on the other hand, if it is borne in mind that the Moscow-Berlin Agreement on the annexation of the Baltic republics to the USSR in 1939 was also declared illegal by the Supreme Soviet, then it is logical to question the legitimacy of the present persistent endeavors of the central government to keep Lithuania under its control.

Although military intervention should not be ruled out entirely, it would certainly have incalculable consequences not only for USSR-Lithuania relations but also for peace in Europe and the world. There is no country that could justify such a step by Moscow, irrespective of the fact that Lithuania has been a constituent part of the USSR for 50 years. Military intervention by the Soviet Army would also result in a decline in Gorbachev's international reputation and would perhaps also undermine perestroyka and glasnost, which would suit the dogmatic forces in the USSR that have never been reconciled to either. Neither these forces nor their influence on President Gorbachev, which is already visible, should be underestimated. Curiously enough, Lithuanians are fairly restrained, but also resolute. They are for negotiations with Moscow, but are not prepared to bargain about their chosen direction.

Of course, secession is not at all simple, especially not in Soviet conditions, but if common sense prevails on both sides, a peaceful separation is possible. Even if the Lithuanians are going rather too far, that cannot justify any action resulting in bloodshed.

Every people has the right to decide its own destiny, and Moscow should accept this as present-day reality. If interethnic relations in the USSR had been good for the last seven decades, as they evidently have not, probably today nobody would have thought of pulling down the house under whose roof he had lived for so long. This is true not only for the USSR, but also for all those who face the same or similar problems. Consequently, all those who think highly of Gorbachev's contribution to international detente and democratization in the USSR would be unable to advise him nor would they agree with him in the use of military intervention in Lithuania. It is true, however, that the world today is becoming increasingly integrated and united, above all in the economic field, but that, again, does not entitle anyone to obstruct others in making their own choice. In all events, Lithuania gave it plenty of thought when it decided on separation from the USSR, and no matter how painful it could be for Moscow, Lithuania should be enabled to follow its own course. Sometimes it is better to have a good neighbor than an older brother who does not understand you.

Commentary on Canceled Markovic Visit to Iraq

AU2603081590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Mar 90 p 2

[Mirko Klarin commentary: "Not as Hostages"]

[Text] Waking up this morning, the following thought may have crossed Premier Markovic's mind, if only for a second:

"If today is Thursday, this must be Baghdad!"

It was Thursday all right, but the place was not Baghdad! It was not Baghdad because our Iraqi friends have called off the Yugoslav premier's visit planned to be made about this time, and have done so virtually at the last moment. One can even say that the visit was demonstratively called off. Why?

This was done because of an official statement that, ironically, passed almost unnoticed in the Yugoslav press!! However, it was very much noticed in Baghdad.

The matter, in fact, concerns two short sentences, with which the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, in a measured and restrained way, expressed its regret on 17 March at the hanging in Baghdad of Farzad Bazoft, a journalist of the London paper THE OBSERVER. They read:

"It is difficult to understand and to accept such an act. Being guided by principles of humanitarianism, we of course very much regret that the death sentence has been carried out."

And this is all. It was enough, however, to provoke sharp official Iraqi protests because of "interference in internal affairs;" to cause our embassy in Baghdad to be inundated with letters and telegrams in which various Iraqi associations "spontaneously" express their disappointment, because they expected full support from their Yugoslav friends in the condemnation of aggressive, sinister, historical British imperialism, racism, Zionism, and repression in the world; and finally it was enough to lead to the cancellation of the Yugoslav premier's visit.

This may be further reflected negatively in our relations with this friendly nonaligned country and important economic partner.

It is logical to presuppose that in drafting the quoted sentences the officials in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs took into their calculations the risk of such a reaction from Baghdad, which was fully to be expected, and that they assessed that, this risk notwithstanding, we should say what we think about an act that caused disgust in a considerable part of the world. In this way, they even in some way induced the cancellation of the visit or its postponement to some other time, which it seems may come soon.

Have they erred in their calculations and estimates, for instance from the point of view of long-term foreign political and economic interests of Yugoslavia?

The basic foreign political interest of any country at present—and for well-known reasons, of Yugoslavia in particular—lies in creating the most favorable conditions for the successful resolution of its internal problems. At first sight it might be said that the induced cancellation of Premier Markovic's visit to Iraq clashes with this interest!

Had he appeared in Baghdad today, Premier Markovic would have been the first foreign statesman on an official visit to Iraq after the execution of the British journalist suspected of espionage, and after the indignation that the hurried execution of the death sentence—despite numerous international appeals for postponement or pardon—caused all over the world. It is logical to suppose that the hosts would know how to value such a magnanimous gesture by their Yugoslav friends and would perhaps even have deigned to pay us a part of what they owe us! This debt, as we know, is not insignificant, especially not viewed from the aspect of our reform needs. For instance, this year alone, payments are due totaling a sum that exceeds the amount that the IMF arrangement that we have just concluded will bring us in the coming three years! Let us not even mention the billion dollars and a bit of the Iraqi debt "reprogrammed" last year!

Well then, had he gone to Baghdad, Markovic could have returned home with a few hundred million dollars, precious for a successful continuation of the reforms. Let us leave aside that fact that he would be welcomed home by the indignation of our public, irritated because of our "sensitivity" toward our nonaligned friends, our "reluctance" to tell them what we think, our "succumbing to their pressure and blackmail," reducing the country to the position of a "hostage" to its debtors (!?), or also a "hostage" to the position of the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement. That one counts on this last point as a means to "make us shut up" is shown by the fact that the majority of the said telegrams and letters containing "spontaneous disappointment" were addressed to President Drnovsek as "the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement." In any case, the hundreds of millions of dollars that Markovic could have brought from Baghdad would not have protected him from the odium of the public that—as we have seen from the preceding cases of Khamenei, Al-Qadhdhafi, Ceausescu...—has become allergic to our "conciliatory attitude" and our "understanding" for acts that "the entire normal world" denounces.

There is no doubt that we need plenty of money to successfully solve our internal problems. However, in addition to money, we need some, or some more, dignity, the readiness to say what we think (even when somebody may not like it), we need to behave and act in conformity with international civilized norms, to show responsibility to the world and to our own critical public, and refuse to be "hostage" to anybody. Without this, no money can help us to overcome all our crises and problems.

It remains for us to comprehend that the right we have assumed—the right to protest, to condemn, to regret... because of conduct and acts that violate universally accepted norms and principles anywhere in the world—is also due to others, when our conduct and our acts are concerned. And we ourselves should become less paranoid and object less to the stands and assessments of others about matters that happen in our country but concern everybody.